

VINDICIÆ REGVM;
OR,
The Grand Rebellion:

That is,
A Looking-Glasse for REBELS.

Whereby they may see, how by ten
severall degrees they shall ascend to the height
of their designe, and so throughly rebell, and
utterly destroy themselves thereby.

AND,
Wherein is clearely proved by holy Scriptures,
ancient Fathers, constant Martyrs, and our best moderne
Writers, that it is no wayes lawfull for any private man,
or any sort or degree of men, inferiour Magistrates, Peeres
of the Kingdome, greatest Nobility, Lords of the Coun-
sell, Senate, Parliament, or Pope, for any cause, compelling to Ido-
latry, exercising Cruelty, practicing Tyranny, or any other pre-
text, how faire and specious soever it seemes to be, to Rebell,
take Armes, and resist the authority of their lawfull King;
whom God will protect, and require all the blood
that shall be spilt at the hands of the head Re-
bels. And all the maine Objections to the
contrary are clearly answered.

By GR. WILLIAMS, L. Bishop of OSSORY.

OXFORD,
Printed by Henry Hall. Ann. Dom. 1643.





TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTIE.

Most Gracious Sovereigne,



Have beene long ashamed to see the Egyptian locusts, the emissaries of Apollyon, and the sonnes of perdition, under the name of Christ, so much to abuse His sacred truth, as to send forth so impudently, and most ignorantly, such lying Pamphlets, so stuffed with Treason, to animate Rebellion, and to poyson the dutifull affections, and the obliged loyalty of Your Majesties seduced Subjects; and seeing we ought not to be sleeping when the Traytors are betraying our Master, I have beene not a little grieved to see so many able men, the faithfull servants of Christ, and most loyall to Your Majestie, either over-awed with feare, or distempered with their calamities, or, I know not for what else, to be so long silent from publishing the necessity of obedience, and the abomination of Rebellion, in this time of need; when the tongue and pen of the Divine should aswell strengthen the weake hands of faithfull subjects, as the Sword and Musket of the Souldier should weaken the

In publicis locis, quilibet homo miles.

The Epistle Dedicatory.

* Non sine meo
magno malo.

Strength of faithlesse Rebels : Therefore, not presuming of mine ability to equalize my brethren, but as conscious of my fidelity both to God and to Your Majestie, as in my younger years I fearlessly published The resolution of Pilate*, so in my latter age, though as much perplexed and persecuted as any man, driven out of all my fortunes in Ireland, hunted out of my house and poore family in England; and (after I had beene causelessly imprisoned, and most barbarously handled) then threatned beyond measure; yet I resolvedly set forth this Tract of The Grand Rebellion : and though it be plaine, without curiosity, ——— *Qualem decet exulis esse* : Yet I doe it in all truth and sincerity, without any sinister aspect; for my witnesse is in Heaven, I had rather have all the estate I have plundered and pillaged, my wife and children left desolate, and destitute of all reliefe, and my selfe deprived of liberty and life by the Rebels, for speaking truth; in defence of whom my conscience knoweth to be in the right, then to have all the praise and preferment that either People, Parliament, or Pope, can heape upon me, for sowing pillowes under their elbowes; and with idle distinctions, false interpretations, and wicked applications of holy Writ, hypocritically to flatter, and most seditiously to instigate the discontented and seduced spirits, and others of most desperate fortunes, to rebell against the Lords annointed. I presume to present the same into Your sacred hands. God Almighty, which delivereth Your Majestie from the contradiction of sinners, and subdueth Your people that are under Fou, blesse, protect, and prosper You in all Your wayes, Your Royall Queene, and all Your Royall Progeny. Thus prayeth

Your Majesties most loyally devoted subject,
and most faithfully obliged servant,

GR. OSSORY.

TO



TO THE READER.



Christian Reader, being here at *Dublin*, attending the affaires of the Kingdome, and seeing the *manifest* miseries, and almost *insupportable* calamities of us the poore *Protestants* of this Kingdome, and the not *much* lesse misfortunes that are fallen or falling upon the *Rebels*, and perhaps upon *many* innocents of the Popish Natives; I much deplored this most *lamentable* estate, and *sad* face of things; and weighing with my selfe the *causes* of these distresses, (which I find to be the *Rebellion* of some *proud*, some *simple*, and some *discontented* Peeres and Gentlemen, fomented by those *Jesuiticall* and parasiticall trencher-Priests, the Seminaries of all wickednesse, that are amongst our people, as thicke as the *Anti-Episcopall* and *Anabaptisticall* non-conformists of *England*, or *Caterpillers* in the Land of *Egypt*) I lighted upon some few notes, that about 25 yeares agoe I had collected upon the *Rebellion* of *Corah*, which I see now, and never till now, risen and revived out of the pit, wherein those *grand* Rebels were swallowed; and having some *leisure*, I thought good, though I had not my *bookes* about me, (which perhaps may shew me the lesse *exact* in some quotations) to reduce them into some *order*; and among them I have transferred not a little out of *D.O.* his

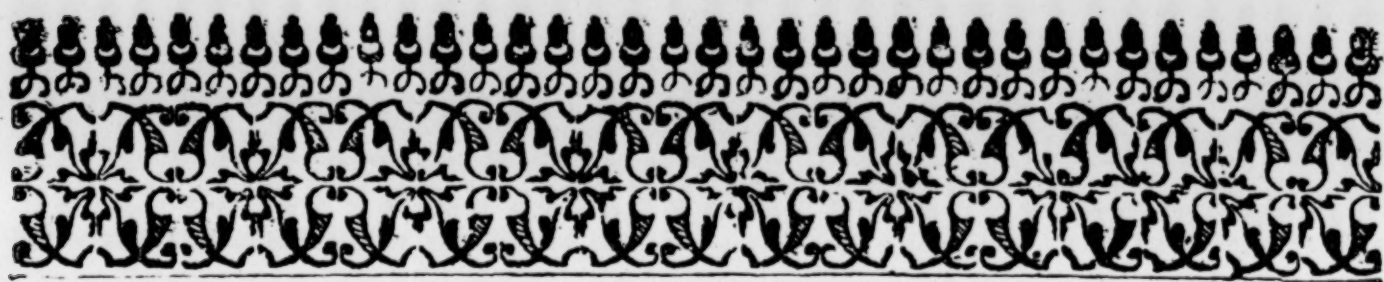
The Epistle to the Reader.

Anti-Paras; yet with such explanations, abbreviations, and translocations of them, as might best fit mine owne *method* and *matter*. I ay me at no body in *hypothesi*, but only as a Divine I set downe the truth in *thesi*: if any man be aggrieved, let him blame himselfe, not me; for in all this, *I speake the truth in Christ Jesus, and lye not*; and as I have *lived*, so I will *dye* in this truth, and will daily *expect* that death, if God should deliver my *life* into the *Rebels* hands, and not rather preserve me from their *mercilesse* cruelty. And therefore my *prayer* shall ever be for all, that our *good* God would blesse us, and give us *obedience* while we live, and *patience* whensoever we shall be brought to suffer death; and so both in *life* and *death*, I rest

Thy faithfull and affectionate brother

G R. O S S O R Y.

The



The Contents of the severall Chapters in this TREATISE.

CHAP. I. *Sheweth who these Rebels were, how much they were obliged to their Governours, and yet how ungratefully they rebelled against them.* Pag. 1.

CHAP. II. *Sheweth against whom these men rebelled, that God is the giver of our Governours: the severall offices of Kings and Priests; how they should assist each other; and how the people laboureth to destroy them both.* 8

CHAP. III. *Sheweth the assured testimonies of a good and lawfull Governour, their qualifications, our duties to them; and wherein our obedience to them consisteth.* 14

CHAP. IV. *Sheweth the objection of the Rebels to justify their Rebellion: the first part of it answered, that neither our compulsion to Idolatry, nor any other injury or tyranny, should move us to rebell.* 19

CHAP. V. *Sheweth by Scripture the Doctrine of the Church, humane reason, and the welfare of the weale publique, that we ought by no meanes to rebell. A threefold power of every Tyrant. Three kindes of tyrannies. The doubtfull and dangerous events of Warre. Why many men rebell. Jehu's example not to be followed.* 29

CHAP. VI. *Sheweth, that neither private men, nor the subordinate Magistrates, nor the greatest Peeres of the Kingdome may take armes, and make Warre against their King. Buchanans mistake discovered, and the Anti-Cavalier confuted.* 39

CHAP. VII. *Sheweth the reasons and the examples that are alledged to justify Rebellion, and a full answer to each of them:*

God.

The Contents.

God the immediate author of Monarchy: inferiour Magistrates have no power but what is derived from the superiour; and the ill successe of all rebellious resisting of our Kings. 51

CHAP. VIII. Sheweth, that our Parliament hath no power to make Warre against our King: Two maine Objections answered: The originall of Parliaments: The power of the King to call a Parliament, to deny what he will, and to dissolve it when he will. Why our King suffereth? 62

CHAP. IX. Sheweth the unanimous consent and testimonies of many famous learned men and Martyrs, both ancient and moderne, that have confirmed and justified the truth of the former Doctrine. 70

CHAP. X. Sheweth the impudency of the Anti-Cavalier: How the Rebels deny they warre against the King: An unanswerable Argument to presse obedience: A further discussion, whether for our Liberty, Religion, or Lawes, we may resist our Kings; and a patheticall dissuasion from Rebellion. 78

CHAP. XI. Sheweth what these Rebels did: How by ten severall steps and degrees (1. Pride. 2. Discontent. 3. Envy. 4. Murmuring. 5. Hypocrisie. 6. Lying. 7. Slandering. 8. Rayling. 9. Disobedience. 10. Resistance.) they ascended to the height of their Rebellion; and how these are the steps and the wayes to all Rebellion, and the reasons which move them to rebell. 88

CHAP. XII. Sheweth where the Rebels do hatch their Rebellion: The heavy and just deserved punishments of Rebels: The application and conclusion of the whole. 99



THE GRAND REBELLION.

PSAL. 106. 16.

*Æmulati sunt Mosen in castris, Aaron
sanctum Domini.*

CHAP. I.

*Sheweth who these Rebels were, how much they
were obliged to their Governours, and yet how
ungratefully they rebelled against them.*



Am here in this Treatise to shew unto you a
Monster, more hideous and monstrous then any
of those that are described either by the *Greeke*
or *Latine* Poets; and more noysome and de-
structive to humane kinde, then any of those
that the hottest regions of *Africa* have ever
bred, though this be now molt frequently produced in these
colder Climates: The name of it is Rebellion, an ugly beast of

B

many

many heads, of loathsome aspect, of great antiquity, and as great vivacity; for the whole world could not subdue it to this very day. And this *Rebellion* (the like whereof was never seen from the Creation of the World to this very time, and I hope shall never be seene hereafter to the day of Judgement) is fully set downe in the 16. of *Numbers*; and it is briefly repeated in the words of the *Psalmist*, *Psal. 106. 16.* how great a sinne it is, and how odious unto God will appeare, if we examine

The greatnesse of this sinne of *Rebellion*, is seen 2 ways.

1. From the Text.
2. From their punishment.

1. Of the Text.
4 parts of the Text.

1. The particulars of the Text in the 16. verse, and but view
2. The greatnesse of their punishment in the next verse.

1. The Text containeth foure speciall parts:

1. *Qui fuere*, who the Rebels were that did this:
2. *Contra quos*, against whom they rebelled:
3. *Quid fecerunt*, what they did:
4. *Ubi fecerunt*, where they did it.

And in each of these I will endeavour brevity; for as the Poet faith, *Citò dicta percipiunt dociles animi, retinéntque fideles*; few words doe best hold memory, and a short taste doth breed the more eager appetite; therefore as all the precepts of Christ

Horat.

3 Properties of Christs precepts.

1. Part, who the Rebels were.

Described by foure notions.

were { 1. *Brevia*,
2. *Levia*,
3. *Utilia*, } so my desire shall be to doe herein.

1. Then *Emulati sunt*, they angred; and who were they? the Prophet answereth, *Vers. 7. Patres nostri in Aegypto*, our fathers regarded not thy wonders in *Egypt*. And therefore they were

1. Their owne *Countrey-men*, the *Israelites*.
2. Of their owne *Tribe*, as was *Corah* and his companions; and of the Nobility of *Israel*, as were *Dathan* and *Abiram*, and their adherents.

3. Of their owne *Religion*, such as had received the *Oracles* of God, and did professe to serve the same true and ever-living God, as the others did.

4. Such as had obtained *multa & magna*, many great favours and benefits; yea, *Beneficia nimis copiosa*; and I may say, very

very pretious benefits from them. For when God sent *Moses* his servant, and *Aaron* whom he had chosen, these delivered them from *bondage*, and brought them forth with silver and gold, and *there was not one feeble person among their Tribes*, saith the Prophet: And yet these were the men that rebelled.

1. They were their owne *Country-men*, of their owne *Tribe*, the seed of *Abraham*, and partakers of the same fortunes; And therefore they should *love* and not hate, they should *further* and not hinder, *rejoyce* and not envy at one anothers happinesse; for though *wicked* men of desperate fortunes care for none but for themselves, *Sibi nati, sibi vivunt, sibi moriuntur, sibi damnantur*; yet not only the *Heathen* Philosophy of Natures Schollers, but also the *Divine* verity of Gods elected servants, doth teach us, that *Partem patria, partem parentes vendicant*; the love of our Countrey, and to our Countrymen should be such, as rather to *spend* our selves to *relieve* them, then by *lewd* practises to *destroy* them; when by our *dissolute* debauchment we have destroyed our selves.

2. These Rebels were of their owne *Tribe*, of the *Tribe of Levi*, and so knit together *indissolubili vinculo*, with the indissoluble bond of blood and fraternity; and therefore they should have remembred the saying of *Abraham* their father, unto his Nephew *Lot*, *Let there be no dissention betwixt thee and mee, for we be brethren*: a good Uncle, that would never drive his Nephew out of his house and home.

And we reade, that *affinity* among the Heathens could not onely keepe away the *force*, and suppress the *malice* of deadly foes, but also retaine *pignora juncti sanguinis*, as *Julia* did *Cesar* and *Pompey*; and as the Poet saith,

Ut generos soceris media junxere Sabine.

Lucan Pharsal.
l. 1.

And therefore why should not *consanguinity*, and the bond of flesh and blood suppress the *envy* of friends, and retaine the *love* of brethren?

But these prove true the old saying, that *Fratrum ira inter se inimicissima*, the wrath of brethren is most deadly; as it appeared, not onely in *Cain* against *Abel*, *Romulus* against *Remus*,

Prov. 18. 19.

Bern. in Cant.
Serm. 33.

mus, and all his brethren against *Ioseph*; but especially in *Caracalla*, that flew his brother *Geta* in his mothers armes: and therefore *Solomon* saith, *A brother offended is harder to winne then a strong Citie, and their contentions are like the barre of a Pallace, not easily broken. Nam ut aqua calefacta, cum ad frigiditatem reducitur frigidissima est*; For as water that hath beene hot, being cold againe, is colder then ever it was before; and as the *Adamant*, if it bee once broken, is shivered into a thousand pieces; so *love*, being turned into *hatred*, and the bond of *friendship* being once dissolved, there accreweth nothing but a swift increase of *deadly hatred*: So it happened now in the Campe of *Israel*, that the saying of Saint *Bernard* is found true, *Omnes amici, & omnes inimici*, all of a house, and yet none at peace; all of a kindred, and yet all in mortall hatred.

And as *Corah* and his companions were so nearely allyed unto *Moses*, of the Tribe of *Levi*; so *Dathan* and *Abiram* were men famous in the Congregation, noble Peeres and very popular men, heads of their families of the Tribe of *Reuben*. A subtle practise of that peltiferous Serpent, to joyne *Simeon* and *Levi*, Clergy and Laity in this wicked faction of *Rebellion*; the one under colour of dissembled sanctity, the other with their power and usurped authority, to seduce the more, to make the greater breach of obedience. And so it hath been alwayes, that we scarce reade of any *Rebellion*, but some base Priests the Chaplaines of the Devill, have begot it; and then the Nobles of the people, *arripientes ansam*, taking hold of this their desired opportunity, do foster that which they would have willingly fathered; as besides this *Rebellion* of *Corah*, that of *Jacke Cade*, in the reigne of *Henry* the sixth; and that of *Perkin Warbeck*, in the time of *Henry* the 7th, and many more that you may finde at home, in the lives of our owne Kings, may make this point plaine enough. But they should have thought on what our Saviour tells us, that *Every Kingdome divided against it selfe is brought to desolation; and every Citie or House divided against it selfe, & caducetur, shall not stand*. What a mischief then was it for these men to make such a division among their owne

owne Tribe, and in their owne Campe? *Nondum tibi defuit hostis*: had they not the *Egyptians*, and the *Canaanites*, and the *Amalekites*, and enough besides to fight against, but they must raise a *civill discord* in their owne house? could not their thoughts be as devout as the Heathen Poets, which saith,

*Lucan. Pharsal.
lib. 1.*

———*Omnibus hostes*

Reddite nos populis, civile avertite bellum.

And therefore this makes the sinne of *home-bred Rebels* the more *intolerable*, because they bring such an *Ilias malorum*, so many sorts of *unusuall* calamities, and *grievous* iniquities upon their owne brethren.

3. These *Rebels* were of their owne *Religion*, professing the same faith that the others did: *Et religio dicitur à religando*, (saith *Lactantius*;) and therefore this *bond* should have tyed them together firmer then the former; for if *equall* manners do most of all binde affections; *Et similitudo morum parit amicitiam*, as the Orator teacheth: then *hoc magnum est, hoc mirum*, that men should not love those of the same Religion. And if the *profession* of the same trades and actions is so *forcible*, not onely to *maintaine* peace, but also to *increase* love, and amitie, as we see in all *Societies* and corporations of any mechanic craft or handie-worke, they do inviolably observe that *maxime* of the Civill Law, to give an *interest* unto those *qui foveant consimilem causam*: so that as birds of the same feather, they will *cluster* all in one, and be *zealous* for the preservation of them that are of the same craft or society: why then should not the *profession* of the same Religion, if not *increase* affection, yet at least *detaine* men from dissention?

3. of the same Religion.

JACOB REX,
in Eo. to all
Christian Monarchs.

For, though *diversities* of religion, *non bene conveniunt*, can seldome containe themselves for any *while* in the same Kingdome, without *Civill* distractions, especially if each partie be of a neere *equall* power, which should move all Governours to doe herein, as *Hanniball* did with his army, that was a mixture of all Nations, to keepe the most *suspected* under, and ranke them so, that they durst not *kicke* against his *Carthaginians*: or as *Henry* the fourth did with the *Brittaines* to make such Laws,

that they were never able to *rebell*: so should the discreet Magistrate, not *roote* out a people, *that they be no more a Nation*. but so *subordinate* the *furthest* from truth to the *best* professors that they shall never be able any wayes to *endanger* the true religion; yet where the same religion is *universally* *professed*, excepting *small* differences in *adiaphorall* things; *Quæ non diversificant species*, as the Schooles speake; it is more then *unnaturall* for any one to make a *Schisme*, and much more transcendently heynous to *rebell* against his Governours. But indeed no sinne is so *unnaturall*, no offence so *heynous*, but that swelling *pride*, and discontented *natures* will soone perpetrate; no bonds nor bounds can keep them in. And therefore *Corah* must *rebell*; and ever since in all *Societies*, even among the *Levites*, and among the *Priests*, the *disordered* spirits have rebelled against their Governours, & *fecerunt unitatem contra unitatem*; and erecting Altars against Altars, (as the Fathers speak) they have made *confederacies* and *conspiracies* against the truth, and thereby they have at all times drawne after them many multitudes of *ignorant* soules unto perdition: This is no new thing, but a true saying; and therefore our Saviour biddeth us to *Take heed of false Prophets*, and of *rebellious* spirits; that as Saint *John* saith, *went from us, but were not of us*, but are indeed the *poyson* and incendiaries both of Church and Commonwealth.

4. Much obliged for many favours unto their Governours.

Numb. 16. 9.

4. These Rebels had received many *favours* and great *benefits* from their Governours: for they were delivered *è lutulentis manuum operibus*, as *S. Augustine* speaketh; and as the Prophet saith, *They had eased their shoulders from their burthens, and their hands from making of pots*: they had broken the *Rod* of their oppressors, and as *Moses* tells them, they had *separated them from the rest of the multitude of Israel*, and set them neere to God himselfe, to doe the service of the *Tabernacle of the Lord*: and therefore the light of *nature* tells us, that they were most *ungratefull*, and as inhumane as the broode of *Serpents*, that would sting him to death, which to preserve his life, would bring him home in his bosome.

And it seemes this was the *transcendencie* of *Judas* his sinne, and

and that which grieved our Saviour most of all, that he, whom he had called to be one of his 12 Apostles, whom he had made his *Steward* and *Treasurer* of all his wealth, and for whom hee had done more then for *thousands* of others, should betray him into the hands of sinners; for if it had beene another (saith the Psalmist) that had done mee this dishonour, I could well have borne it, but seeing it was thou my familiar friend, which didst eate and drinke at my table, it must needs trouble mee: for though in others it might be pardonable, yet in thee it is intolerable; and therefore of all others he saith of Judas, *va illi homini*, woe be unto that man by whom the Sonne of man is betrayed, it had beene better for him he had never beene borne, as if his sinne were greater then the sinnes of *Ananias*, *Caiphas*, or *Pilate*.

But the old saying is most true, *Improbis à nullo flectitur obsequio*, no service can satisfie a froward soule, no favour, no benefit, no preferment can appease the rebellious thoughts of discontented spirits. And therefore notwithstanding *Moses* had done all this for *Corah*, yet *Corah* must rebell against *Moses*: So many times, though Kings have given great honours unto their subjects, made them their *Peeres*, their *Chamberlaines*, their *Treasurers*, and their servants of neere place and greatest trust. And though *Aaron*, the High Priest, or *Bishop* doth impose his hands on others, and admit them into *Sacred Orders* above their brethren, to be neer the Lord, and bestow all the preferment they can upon them: yet with *Corah* these unquiet and ungratefull spirits must rebell against their governours: For, I thinke I may well demand, which of all them, that now rebell against their King have not had, either their Grand-fathers, Fathers, or themselves promoted to all or most of their fortunes and honours, from that crowne which now they would trample under their feet? Who more against their King, then those, that received most from their King? Just like *Judas*, or here, like *Corah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*. I could instance the particulars, but I passe.

So you see who were the Rebels, most ungratefull, most unworthy men.



CHAP. II.

Sheweth against whom these men rebelled, that God is the giver of our Governours; the severall offices of Kings and Priests; how they should assist each other, and how the people laboureth to destroy them both.

2. Part, against whom they rebelled.

SEcondly, we are to consider, *against whom they rebelled;* and the Text saith, *against Moses and Aaron:* and therefore

2 Points discussed.

we must discusse, { 1. *Qui fuere*, who they were in regard of their places.
2. *Quales fuere*, what they were in regard of their qualities.

1. In regard of their *places*, we finde that these men were

- { 1. The *chiefe* Governours of Gods people.
2. Governours both in *temporall* and in *spirituall* things.
3. Agreeing and consenting together in all their Government.

1. They were the *prime* Governours of the people: *Moses* the King or Prince, to *rule* the people; and *Aaron* the High-Priest to *instruct* and offer Sacrifice, to make attonement unto God for the sinnes of the people; and these have their *authority* from God: for though it sometimes happeneth that *potens*, the ruler is not of God, as the Prophet saith, *They have reigned, and not by me*; and likewise *modus assumendi*, the manner of getting *authority* is not alwayes of God, but sometimes by *usurpation*, *cruelty*, *subtlety*, or some other sinfull meanes; yet *potestas*, the power it selfe, whosoever hath it, is ever from God: for the Philosopher saith, *Magistratus originem esse à natura ipsa*. And Saint Ambrose saith, *Datus à Deo Magistratus, non modo malorum coercendorum causâ, sed etiam bonorum fovendorum in vera animi pietate & honestate, gratiâ*. And others say, the *Sunne* is not more necessary in Heaven, then the *Magistrate* is on Earth; for alas, how is it possible for any Society

Hos. 8. 4.

Aristot. Polit.
lib. I. c. I.
Ambros. Ser. 7.

ciety to live on earth, *cum vivitur ex rapto*, when men live by rapine, and shall say, *Let our strength be to us the law of justice*; therefore God is the giver of our Governours, and he professeth, *Per me regnant Reges*: And Daniel told Nebuchadnezzar, *That the most high ruleth in the Kingdome of men, and he giveth it to whomsoever he will*: Dan. 4. 25.

Vide etiam c. 2.

2. These two men were Governours, both in all temporall^{v. 37.} and in all spirituall things; as Moses in the things that pertained to the Common-wealth, and Aaron in things pertaining unto God.

And these two sorts of Government are in some sort subordinate each to other, and yet each one intire in it selfe, so that the one may not usurpe the office of the other; for

1. The spirituall Priest is to instruct the Magistrates, and to reprove them too, if they do amisse, as they are members of their charge, and the sheepe of their sheepfold: And so we have the examples of David, reprov'd by Nathan, Achab by Elias, Herod by John Baptist; and in the Primitive Church, of Philip the Emperour, repenting at the perswasion of Fabian; and Theodosius senior, by the writings of S. Ambrose.

2. Governours both in temporall and spirituall things.

Euseb. l. 6. c. 34. Sozomen lib. 7.

2. The temporall Magistrate is to command, and if they offend, to correct & condemne the Priests, as they are members of their Common-wealth; for Saint Paul saith, *Let every soule be subject to the higher powers*: and if every soule, then the soule of the Priest, as well as the soules of the People; or otherwise, *Quis eum exceptit ab universitate?* as S. Bernard saith; and so Theodoret, Theophylact, and Oecumenius, are of the same minde: and the examples of Abiathar, deposed by Solomon; and a greater then Solomon, Christ himselfe, not refusing the censure of Pilate, though for no fault; Saint Paul appealing unto Caesar, Cæcilian judged by the Delegates of Constantine; Flavianus by Theodosius, and all the Martyrs and godly Bishops never pleading exemption from their persecuters, doe make this point beyond all question.

Rom. 13. Bernard. ad Archiopis. Seno. vensem.

3. These two Governours were not onely consanguinei, two brethren, for so were Cain and Abel, to whom *totus non sufficit orbis*; but they were also consentanei, like the soule and bo-

3. Governours well agreeing in their government.

dy of man, of the same sympathie and affection for the performance of every action ; for the *Church* and *Common-wealth* are like *Hippocrates* twyns, so linked together, as the *Ivie* intwisteth it selfe about the *Oake*, that the one cannot happily subsist without the other ; but as the Secretary of *nature* well observeth, That the Marygold opens with the Sunne, and shuts with the shade ; even so, when the Sunne-beames of *peace* and *prosperity* shine upon the *Common-wealth*, then by the reflection of those beames, the *Church* dilates and spreads it selfe the better ; as you may see in *Act. 9. 31.* and on the other side, when any Kingdome groaneth under civill dissention, the *Church* of Christ must needs suffer persecution. And therefore to this end, that the *Prince* and *Priest* might, as the two feet of a man, helpe each other to support the *weight* of the whole body, and to beare the burthen of so great a charge ; God at the first severing of these offices, (which before were united in one person, as the Poet saith of *Anius*,

———*Rex idem hominum, Phœbique Sacerdos.*

And the Apostle saith of *Melchisedech*, that he was both a King and the Priest of the most high God,) did chuse two *naturall* brethren to be the Governours of his people ; and that, *quod non caret mysterio* : *Aaron* was the eldest, and yet *Moses* was the chiefest ; to signifie, as I take it, that they should rather helpe and further each other, then any wayes *rule* and *domineere* one over the other ; because that although *Aaron* was the *eldest* brother and *chiefe* Priest, yet *Moses* was the *chiefe* Magistrate, and his brothers God, as God himselfe doth stile him ; and therefore this should *terrorem incutere*, and teach him how to behave himselfe towards his brother ; and though *Moses* was the *chiefe* Magistrate, yet *Aaron* was the *chiefe* Priest, and his eldest brother, which had not lost (like *Reuben*) the prerogative of his birth-right ; and this should *reverentiam inducere*, worke in *Moses* a respect unto his brothers age and place.

And truely there is great *reason* why these two should doe their best, to *support* and protect each other ; for the government of the people, is, as we may now see, a very *difficult* and a miraculous.

miraculous thing, no lesse then the *appeasing* of the Surges of the raging Seas, as the Prophet sheweth, when he saith, *That God ruleth the rage of the Sea, and the noyse of his waves, and the madnesse of his people*: And the Rod of government is a miraculous Rod, as well that of *Aaron* as that of *Moses*; for as *Moses* rod turned into a *serpent*, and the *serpent* into a rod againe; so the rod of *Aaron*, of a dry sticke, did *blossome* and beare ripe Almonds: to shew how strange and wonderfull a thing it is, either for *Prince* or *Priest*, to rule an *unruly* multitude, too much for any one of them to do; and therefore God doth alwayes joine both of them together, as the *Psalmist* sheweth, *Thou leddest thy people like sheepe, by the hand of Moses and Aaron*.

And besides, if these two doe not *assist* and protect each other, they shall be soone *suppressed* one after another, of their owne people; for if the *Prince*, which is to be our *nursing* father, be once *subdued*, then presently the *Priest* shall be *destroyed*; and when he hath lost his power, our power shall never be able to doe any good: and if the *Priest* which *prayeth*, and *preacheth* to direct the *King*, be *trampled* under foot, it hath been found molt certain, that after they have thrown away the *Miter*, they have not long retained the *Scepter*: And therefore King *James* of ever blessed memory, of a sharpe conception and sound judgement, was wont to say, *No Bishop, no King*; unlesse you meane such a King as *Christ* was, when the *Jewes* crowned him with *Thornes*, and bowing their knees, said, *Hayle King of the Jewes*; that is, *Rex sine Regno*, a King without power; like a man of straw, that is onely made to fright away the birds: For the people are alwayes *prone* to pull out their necks from the yoke of their obedience, and would soone *rebell*, if the *Priests* did not continually preach, that *Every soule should be subject to the higher powers*; as we see now by experience, how apt they are to *rebell* when factious Preachers give them the least encouragement. And therefore as this *rebellion* of *Corah*, so every other, though they begin with one, yet they ayme at both, and strive to overthrow aswell the one as the other: for so my Text saith, *They angred Moses in their*

As soone as men have overthrowne their Priests, they will presently labour to destroy their King.

Tents, and Aaron the Saint of the Lord. And therefore these two should be as *Hippocrates* twyns, or indeed like man and wife, *indissolubly* coupled and coherent together, without distraction; and cursed be they that strive to make the division: for whom God hath thus united together, no man should put asunder.

The method of
their rebellion,

And here you may observe the method of their *Rebellion*, the Text saith, *Moses* and *Aaron*; yet *Moses* sheweth, they began with *Aaron*: for when their *Rebellion* was first discovered, *Moses* doth not say, *What have I done against you?* but *What is Aaron that you should murmur against him?* to shew unto us, that although *Moses* was the first they ayimed at in their intention, yet he was the last they purposed to overthrow in the execution: *Quia progrediendum à facilioribus*, as the Devill began with the woman the weaker vessell, that he might the easier overthrow the stronger; so the enemies of God and his Church doe alwayes seeke, first to overthrow the *Priest*, and then presently they will set upon the *Prince*.

Virgil Æneid.
lib. 2.

And therefore as *Moses* here, so all Magistrates every where should remember, that, *Jam tua res agitur*, through our sides they may smite, and our wounds may prove dangerous unto them: because you shall never reade they began to shake us, but they fully intended to root out them; for if the feare of God, and the honour of the King must goe together, as *S. Peter* sheweth, it must needs follow that they will but dishonour and disobey their King, that have cast away the feare of God; and it is most certaine, that when they drive God out of their hearts, as the *Gergezites* drove Christ out of their coasts, when they expell *Aaron* the chiefe Priest or Bishop out of their Assemblies, there is but little feare of God before their eyes: for if *Seneca*, that was but *Natures* Scholler, could tell us, that when we goe about any wicked act, a grave *Cato* or severe *Aristides* standing by us, would make us blush and stop the doing thereof, then certainly the Christian that hath any grace, will be ashamed of his evill intent, and be afraid to offend God, when he seeth a man of God so neare him; who doth often times *ponere obicem*, make a stop to stay the proceedings of the wicked, that would

Little feare of
God in them
that expell their
Priests out of
their societies.

would not seldome be farre worse, and doe more unjustice, if it were not for the company and perswasions of the Priest and Preacher.

And therefore the former ages that feared God more then we, and were wiser to use this meanes, that they might feare him, desired, that in their greatest Assemblies of greatest affaires, as Sessions, Councels, Parliaments, and the like, the Bishops and Preachers might be as the chiefe members of their consultations, as well to witnesse the uprightnesse of their actions, as to direct them in cases of conscience, what is most agreeable to the divine constitution.

And wheresoever you see the expulsion of these men, and the rejection of these helpes and furtherances unto godlinesse, you shall finde no good successe, nor better fruit of their greatest Councels, then Sedition, Oppression, Confusion, and Rebellion: For it is not the least part of the Bishops office, and the duty of all Preachers, not onely in the Pulpit, where what they say is of many men soone forgotten, but also in all other meetings and assemblies, and in the very instances when occasions shall be offered; to doe as Christ and his Apostles did, perswade peace, righteousness, and obedience unto the people; and the want of their association hath beene the opening of many gaps to let in much injustice and impiety in many places, because their present perswasion may doe as much, if not more good with men, when they are in action, then their preaching can doe when they come to contemplation.

And therefore if any assembly hath (like Corah) rebelled against Aaron, and cast their Bishops and Preachers out of doores, I would advise them to follow the Councell of S. Ambrose in the like case, *Quod inconsultò fecerunt consultius revocetur*, what they have inconsiderately done, to throw them out, let them more advisedly revoke and call them in againe; and they whose breeding hath beene in knowledge, and their calling is to doe justice and to teach truth, will helpe and not hinder them to understand the truth, and to proceed in righteousness.

And so you see, who these men were in regard of their places.

CHAP. III.

Sheweth the assured testimonies of a good and lawfull Governour, their qualifications, our duties to them; and wherein our obedience to them consisteth.

2. How these Governours were qualified for their places.

2 Points discussed.

1. How they obtained their places.

Many usurpe their places.

1. Moses had a twofold testimony to justify his calling.

1. Inward.

SEcondly, we are to consider, *Quales fuere*, how these men were qualified for their places; touching which, these two points are to be handled:

1. *Modus assumendi*, the manner of obtaining it.

2. *Facultas exequendi*, the ability and fidelity of discharging it.

1. I told you before, that many doe obtaine their places by *sinfull* meanes, as many of the Popes and *Romane* Emperours, by poysoning and murthering their Predecessours, have unlawfully stept into the *Thrones* of Majestie; and so did *Henry* the fourth by the unjust deposition of *Richard* the second, and *Richard* the third by the cruell and secret murthering of his poore innocent Nephewes, attaine unto the Crowne of *England*. And in such manner of assuming government there is just cause of *resisting*, and a faire colour of *rebelling* against them, if you call it a *Rebellion*, when men discharge their duties in defence of *justice*, to oppose *usurpation*: But neither *Moses* nor *Aaron* came so to the places of their government. For

1. *Moses* had a double testimony to approve his calling to be from God.

The first was *Internum*, to assure himselfe: And the second was *Externum*, to confirme the same unto the people. For

1. When *Moses* said unto God, *Who am I that I should goe unto Pharaoh*; the Lord answered, *I will be with thee*, [*ad protegendum & dirigendum*] saith the glosse: and this shall be a token unto thee that I have sent thee; After that you have brought the people out of *Egypt*, you shall serve God upon this Mountaine; and that may assure thee that I have sent thee, and will bring thy people unto *Canaan*, as I have brought them into this wilderness.

2. That

2. That the *people* might be assured he was *lawfully* called, God gave unto him a threefold signe.

2. Outward, which was a threefold signe.

1. Of his *Rod*, that being cast to the ground was turned to a *Serpent*; but taken by the tayle, it turned to a *Rod* againe: to shew, that when the rod of *government* is throwne out of the Magistrates hand, the people are like the *brood of Serpents*, a malicious and a viperous generation; but being taken into the hand of government, they prove a royall and a glorious Nation.

1. Of his Rod.

People without government like Serpents.

2. The *hand* thrust into his bosome and taken out, was *leaprous*; but thrust againe and taken out, was made whole: to signifie, that a good Magistrate out of the *bosome* of the Law, must pull out the hand of *justice*, both to wound and to heale, to kill and to make alive, as the Poet saith;

2. Of the Hand.

Parcere subjectis, & debellare superbos.

To defend the innocent, and to punish the wrong doer.

3. The *water* taken out of the river and cast upon the drie ground should be turned into *blond*, to intimate unto them, that the *blond* which was spilt by *Pharaoh*, when their children were *murthered* and drowned in the rivers, should be required and revenged upon the *Egyptians*, when by the government of *Moses*, the carcases of those outrageous oppressours, should be cast out of the *Red Sea*, and laid upon the drie ground. Thus *Moses* shewed that he was *lawfully* called.

3. Of the Water.

2. For *Aaron*, the Apostle makes him the *patterne* of all *lawfull* entrance into this calling, when he saith, that *No man taketh this honour upon him, but he that is called as Aaron was*, and *Moses* manifested the *lawfulnessse* of his calling unto all *Israel*, when according to the number of their 12. Tribes, he caused 12. Rods to be put in the Tabernacle of witnesse; and of all them the Rod of *Aaron* onely, which was for the Tribe of *Levi*, was *budded* and brought forth *buds*, and *bloomed blossomes*, and yeelded *Almonds*. And so it was apparent to all *Israel*, that these men came *lawfully* to their government.

2. *Aarons* calling justified. Heb. 5.

Numb. 17. 8.

2. For their *ability* and fidelity to discharge their places, the malice of their adversaries could not charge them with any omission; they doe not say they have governed *amisse*, but they

2. Their qualifications for their places.

would

would faine governe with them. And to make this more apparent,

1. Of the abilities of Moses.

Tertul. de fuga in Persecut.

1. The Spirit of God testifieth of *Moses*, that *He was faithful in all Gods house*; and in that respect called *the man of God*, the servant of God, whose whole care was for his Master: and for the sweetnesse of his *disposition* he is said to be *a very meeke man, above all the men that were upon the earth*: for his love to his people, *Tertullian* makes him the figure of Christ, *Cum adhuc Christo non revelato, in se figurato, ait, si perdis hunc populum & me pariter cum eo disperde*; for his zeale of Gods honour he was most fervent, and therefore severe in punishing the worshippers of the golden Calfe: and for his justice and uprightness, he wronged no man; for his *intellectuals* he was exceeding wise, and *learned in all the learning of the Egyptians*.

2. Of the abilities of Aaron.

2. For *Aaron*, how fit he was to be a Priest, will appeare, if you consider those two vertues that are the most requisite for the Priesthood, as *Moses* sheweth when he prayeth, *Let thine Urim and thy Thummim be upon the man of thy mercy*, that is, omitting all other interpretations,

1. *Abilitie* to teach.

2. *Sanctitie* of life.

For,

1. His ability to teach.

Malach.

1 Tim. 3. 2.

Hieron. in Hag. gai 2. & Aug. de doct. Christ. l. 4. c. 16.

1. *The Priests lips must preserve knowledge*; he must be apt to teach, & *si Sacerdos est, sciat legem Dei; si ignorat legem, ipse se arguit non esse Sacerdotem Domini*: But God himselfe faith, that hee knew *Aaron* was an eloquent man, and could speake well, and he promised unto *Moses* that *He would be with his mouth*, to teach him what he should say: and therefore I know not who can say any thing against him herein, when God faith he can doe it so well, and ingageth himselfe that he will helpe him.

2. His uprightness of life.

2. For the *Integrity* of his life, I need not goe further then my Text, when as the Prophet calleth him *The Saint of the Lord*; that is, not onely *Sanctificatum ad Sacerdotium*; but also a holy, just, and godly man, in respect of the *innocency* of his life.

And so you have seene the persons described, against whom these

these *Rebels* have rebelled: They were the *prime* Governours of Gods people, and *such* Governours as the like, for all kinde of goodnesse and excellencies, could not be found on earth.

Therefore these *Rebels* ought to have *obeyed* them, though for nothing else, but because they were their Governours; for the Apostle tells us plainly, that *necesse est subjici*, we must needs be subject; not onely for *wrath*, but also for *conscience* sake: wherein you see a double *necessity* of obeying.

1. Externall, *Propter iram*, for feare of wrath:

2. Internall, *Propter conscientiam*, for conscience sake:

therefore we must needs obey. And our *obedience* consisteth chiefly in these two things:

{ 1. To doe nothing *against* them. } For,
{ 2. To doe all that we can *for* them. }

1. We are forbidden to *thinke* an ill thought of them with our hearts; *Speake not evill of the King*, (saith Solomon) *no not in thy thought; for a bird of the aire shall carry the voyce, and that which hath wings shall tell the matter.*

2. We are charged not to *revile* them with our tongues, for *Thou shalt not revile the Gods, nor curse the Ruler of the people.*

3. We are restrained from *resisting* them with our hands; for, *Whosoever resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God; and they that resist receive unto themselves damnation.*

And therefore the Lord saith unto all, *Nolite tangere Christos meos*; where he doth not say *non occides*, or *ne perdas*, the worst that can be, but *ne tangas*, the least that may be; touch not *tactu noxio*, with any hurtfull touch.

And many times we are touched *secretly*, we know not *how*, nor *when*, nor by *whom*, but cursed be he that smiteth his *neighbour* secretly, and all the people shall say *Amen*: and therefore much more cursed be he that smiteth his *Prince*, his *Priest*, his *Governour*.

And sometimes we are touched with *violent* hands, when with *hostile* force and open armes our power and authority are withstood: but

Most frequently we are touched with *virulent* tongues, as they say in *Jeremie*, *Venite percutiamus eum lingua*; and this

D

touch,

Jerem. 18. 18.

A double necessity of obedience.

Our obedience consisteth in two things.

1. In doing nothing against our Governours.

1. In Thought. Eccles. 10. 20.

2. In Word. Exod. 22. 28.

3. In Deed. Rom. 13. 2.

Many kindes of touches.

touch, though it breakes no *bones*, yet doth it wound and kill the very *heart*.

But the Lord saith in *generall*, touch not at all; therefore no *kinde* is limited, no *way* permitted to touch them.

2. In doing all that we can do for our Governours.

1. To honour them.

Rom. 13.

Vide Josh. 1. 16.

Wherein wee ought to obey, and disobey.

Aug. in Psal. 124.

2. To impart our goods to them.

3. To hazard our lives for them.

2. As we are *forbidden* to doe any thing *against* them, so we are *commanded* to doe all we can *for* them: for,

Saint Peter saith, *Feare God, and honour the King*; therefore he cannot be said to *feare* God that doth not *honour* his King: And Solomon saith, *Feare God, my sonne, and the King*; therefore he cannot be the sonne of *Wisedome*, the sonne of Solomon, that doth not *feare* the King; that is, *feare* to *wrong* him, *feare* to *offend* him, *feare* to *anger* him. And when the Magistrates *command* us any thing, Saint Paul bids us to *obey* them; but if they *command* any thing *against* God, then indeed their authority comes too short, *Quia melius est obedire Deo, quam hominibus*. Yet in these things wherein we may not *obey*, we must not *resist*; but as *Julians* Souldiers would not sacrifice at his command, *Sed timendo potestatem, contemnebant potestatem*, in fearing the power of God, regarded not the power of *man*; yet when he ledd them against his enemies, *Subditi erant propter Dominum aeternum, etiam domino temporali*; so should we truly *distinguish* of the things they do *command*, and take heed we be not *blinde* Judges herein, and too *partiall* to satisfie our owne passionate affections.

And besides, we are to impart our *goods* to supply their necessities, and for the supportance of their dignities; for our Saviour bids us, *Give unto Caesar what belongeth to Caesar*: and Saint Paul expresth the same to be *Tribute*, that is, *Imposts*, *Subsidies*, *Gifts*, or the like, call it by what name you will; we are *commanded* by God, to the uttermost of our abilities, to *supply* their occasions and necessities, even as the children are bound to relieve their *parents* in their extremities.

And if we see our *Moses*, our King or chiefe Governour, any wayes *impugned*, or like to be *oppressed*, either by forraign *Egyptians*, or domestick *Israelites*, though they should be *Dathan* and *Abiram*, the most prime and popular men in all the Congregation, that could draw thousands after them, yet are we bound,

bound to the hazard of our *lives*, to preserve the Life, Crowne, and Dignity of our Prince; as the subjects of King *David* hazarded themselves to save him harmelesse: And if we will not doe this, then as *Mordecai* in the like case said to *Hester*, *If thou altogether holdest thy peace at this time, then shall there enlargement and deliverance arise to the Jewes from another place, but thou and thy fathers house shall be destroyed.* So I say with King *David*, the Lord will helpe his *Anointed*, and deliver him from the strivings of his people: and if we still be silent and doe nothing, yet, *the Starres in their order shall fight against Sifera, Et conjurati venient ad classica venti:* and as the Angell of the Lord said of the *Merozites*, *Curse yee Meroz, curse yee bitterly the Inhabitants thereof, because they came not to helpe Barack against the Canaanites:* so let them feare a bitter curse, and a curse from God, that will not helpe their Prince against his enemies, especially such enemies as have least reason to be enemies unto him.

2 Sam. 18. 3.

Hester 4. 14.

The punishment of them that will not assist their Governours.

So you see what obedience we owe unto our Governours, and therefore their rebellion was the more intolerable, that thus spurned against their Magistrates.

CHAP. IV.

Sheweth the objection of the Rebels to justifie their Rebellion: the first part of it answered, that neither our compulsion to Idolatry, nor any other injury or tyranny should move us to Rebell.

BUt we must not *condemne* them before their cause be heard; and therefore *Corah* shall have his Counsell to object what hee can for himselfe: And I finde but one objection of any moment, though the same consisteth of many branches. As

What if *Moses*, the King, or chiefe Governour, being so much affected and addicted unto *Aaron* the chiefe Priest or Bishop, and to others his *prime* Councill, should be led by evill

The objection of the Rebels.

advice to set up *Idolatry*, and to play the *Tyrant*; to take away the *goods*, destroy the *lives*, and bring most of his people to most miserable conditions: may neither *private* men, nor the *subordinate* Magistrates, nor the *prime* Nobilitie of the people, nor any other Court or Assembly of men restraine his *fury*, or remove this *mischiefe* from Gods inheritance, from the Church and Common-wealth? this is that *Gordian* knot which is so hard to be untied.

Solutio.

2 Parts of their objection.

But if I might in the Schoole of Divinity have leave to resolve this question, and not to be confuted, as Saint *Steven* was, with stony arguments, I would soone answer, that 1. *In neither of these cases*: 2. *Neither of these men* may doe it: and I could make this good by very good authority, for, *Si Magistratus est bonus, nutritor est tuus*; if our Governour be good he is our *nurting* father, and wee should receive our nourishment with *thanks*; and no thanks to us for our obedience to such a one. And if our Governour be *evill*, hee is so for our *transgression*, and we should receive our punishment with *patience*; and therefore no *resistance*: but either obey the good *willingly*, or endure the evill *patiently*.

But to proceed to breake this *Gordian* knot in pieces, and to answer each part of this objection:

3 Part of their objection answered.

Not to rebell for any cause.

1. Not for our compulsion to Idolatrie.

1. I say, that many *wicked* Kings, and *cruell* Emperours have set up *Idolatry*, and blasphemy against God, and yet I doe not find that any of Gods servants did ever *rebell* against them; for you know *Jeroboam* the sonne of *Nebat* that made *Israel* to sinne, did set up golden Calves to be worshipped. *Nebuchadnezzar* King of *Babylon* made an Image of gold, and commanded all his people to fall downe to worship it. And what shalt I say of those *Idolatrous* Kings, *Achab*, *Manasses*, *Julian*, and abundance more; that most impiously compelled their subjects unto *Idolatry*? and yet you shall not finde that either the faithfull *Jewes* under *Jeroboam*, nor the Prophet *Daniel* in *Babylon*, nor *Elias* the man of God in the time of *Achab*, nor any of all the good *Christians* that were under *Julian*, did either *themselves*, or perswade *others* of the servants of God, at any time to *rebell* against those *Idolatrous* Kings: for they considered
how

how farre the Law of God that prohibiteth *Idolatry*, and insti-
gateth us against the allurers and perswaders of us to *Idolatry*
and blasphemy, extendeth; and that is, *If thy brother the son of* Deut. 13. 6.
thy mother, or thy sonne, or thy daughter, or the wife of thy bosome, How farre the
or thy friend which is as thine owne soule, shall intice thee to Ido- Law of God
latry, and to serve strange Gods, thine eye shall not spare him, nei- extendeth to
ther shalt thou have any pittie upon him; but for the sonne to rise resist Idolaters.
up against the father, the wife against her husband, the servant
against his Lord, the subject against his King, here is not a
word; and therefore by this Law they are not *obliged*, but ra-
ther *forbidden* to doe it; for though the sonne is not *expresly*
prohibited to accuse his father, nor the wife her husband, nor
the servant his Lord, nor the subject his King: Yet, because
Gods Law is *absolute* and perfect, to which wee must neither
adde nor *detract*, nor *construe* it as we please; the Divines con-
ceive those things *forbidden* which are not *expressed*, especially
in *penall* precepts, which are to be *restrained*, and not extended
any further then they are set downe, as *Tostatus* doth most true- *Tostatus in*
ly conclude: And what the sonne may not doe against his fa- *Deut. 13. 9. 3.*
ther, nor the wife against her husband, nor the servant against
his Lord; that certainly *no man* may do against his King, which
is the father of his Countrey, the husband of the Common-
wealth, and the *supreme* Lord over all his subjects.

And therefore Christ himselfe that came to *fulfill* the Law,
and knew best how farre it *reached*, living under the Empire of
Tiberius, the Principality of *Herod*, and the Government of
Pilate, that were all wicked and *idolatrous*, did notwithstanding
submit himselfe in *all things* (which the Law of God for-
bad him not) unto them; and though for strength, policie, and
power, he might easily have *resisted* them, yet did he not on-
ly performe all the offices of *subjection* unto these wicked Ma-
gistrates, and *idolatrous* Governours, but also commanded all
his followers to doe the like; and so we see they did: for the
Christians which were at *Hierusalem* when *James* was marty-
red, were *more* in number, and *greater* in power, then were the
persecuters of that Apostle; and yet for the *reverence* they
bare to the Law of God, and the example of their Master

The obedience
of all his Apo-
stles and prime
Christians to
idolatrous Go-
vernours.

*Clement. re-
cognit. l. 1. f. 9.*

*Cyprian. ad De-
metrian.*

*Tertull. in A-
polog.*

He that would
see more plenty
of prooffe, let
him reade the
Treatise *A per-
suasion to loy-
alty*. Where
the Author
bringeth the
Fathers of all
ages to confirm
this point.

Christ, *interimi se à paucioribus, quàm interimere patiebantur*; they rather suffered themselves to bee killed, then they would kill their Persecuters, saith S. Clement. And so the other Apostles, under Caligula, Claudius, Nero, Domitian, that were bloudy Tyrants, cruell Persecuters, and most wicked Idolaters: and those holy Fathers of the Church, Liberius, Hosius, Athanasius, Nazianzen, Hilary, Ambrose, Augustine, Hierome, Chrysostome, and the rest, for a thousand yeares together followed the example of *Patience*, without *resistance*; yea, *Quamvis nimius & copiosus noster sit numerus*; though their power was great, and their number greater then their adversaries, yet none of them struggled when he was apprehended, saith S. Cyprian; and the reason is rendered by Tertullian, because among the Christians, *Occidi licet, occidere non licet*, It was lawfull for them to suffer themselves to be killed, but not to kill; for our Saviour had pronounced them *blessed* that would suffer for *righteousnesse sake*: and what more *righteous*, then to suffer death for not being an Idolater, to die rather then to deny their God? therefore they are not to be blessed which *refuse* to suffer, because that in not suffering, but in *rising up* and *rebell*ing against their Persecuters, they are (as the Apostle saith) convinced of *sinne*, and in sinning they acquire unto themselves *damnation*: Rom. 13.

Besides, if it were lawfull to maintaine this Doctrine, then the *Papists* that beleeve our Religion to be false, and that we perswading men unto it, doe *seduce* them from the true service of God, may lawfully *rebell* against their Prince, and justifie all their most *trayterous* plots: and every *hereticall* Sect that beleeveth we are *Idolaters*, (as they doe all which oppose the crosse in Baptisme) may, without offence; fall into *rebellion* against all those Magistrates that maintaine that *Idoll*, as they terme it. And this false *pretext* might be a dissembled *cloake* for all *Rebels*, to say, they doe it in defence of their Religion, because they are affraid to be compelled unto *Idolatry*: And therefore the truth is, if any Tyrant like *Julian* should endeavour to compell me unto the *Idols* Temple, or to worship my *true* God with *false* service, I will rather *die* then *doe* it; but I may not *resist* when I am compelled by any meanes: for so I finde,

finde, that *Shadrac, Meshac, and Abednego, Elias, the Prophets, and the Apostles, and all the Christians of the Primitive Church, did use to doe in the like case.*

And I had rather imitate the *obedience* of those *good Saints* to those wicked Kings, that would have compelled them to *Idolatry*; then the *insolencie* of those *proud Rebels*, that under these false pretences will *rebell* against their lawfull Princes.

2. If we may not *rebell* when we are compelled to *Idolatry*, much lesse may we do it for any other *injury*: for what *injury* can be greater then to be forced to *Idolatry*, when as to be robbed of my *faith* and *religion*, is more intolerable then to be spoyled of all my *goods* and *possessions*? And therefore, when Christ suffered as great an *injury* as could bee offered unto his person, when the Souldiers came with *Swords and Staves* to *take him*, as if he had beene a thiefe and a murderer; and Saint Peter then like a hot-headed Puritane, was very desirous to *revenge* this indignity, our Saviour reprehended his *rashnesse*, because he *knew* what the other as yet knew not: that he ought not to *resist* when the Magistrate doth send to apprehend; and so the Christians of the Primitive Church were extreamely *injured* by their Persecuters: And the *Catholique* faith it selfe suffered no small oppression under *Constantius* the *Arian* Emperour, and yet that purer age, wherein the better Christians lived, did not so much as once thinke of any *revenge* or *resistance*, saith *Baronius*: But about the yeare of Christ 350. then first (saith he) alas the Christian Souldiers being swell'd with *pride*, and taken up with a cruell desire of bearing *rule*, have conspired against the Christian Emperours; when as before, *Ne gregarius quidem miles inveniri quidem posset, qui adversus Imperatores, licet Ethnicos, & Christianorum quoque persecutores, à partibus aliquando steterit insurgentium tyrannorum*; not a Christian could be found that stood up against the Heathen Emperours, that were the persecuters of the Christians.

But to make it yet more plaine, that no *grievance* should move good Christians to make *resistance*, no *injury* should cause them to *rebell* against their Magistrates, our Saviour saith, & *authoritative*, with authority enough, *I say unto you, that ye resist*

2. Not for any injury that is done unto us.

No injury greater then compulsion to Idolatry.

When and whio did first resist, and what moved them.

Baron. ad ann. Christi. 350.

Math 5. 39.

resist not evill ; but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turne to him the other also : and if by our Saviours rule we may not resist any one, what thinke you that we may resist our King, our Priest, or any other Magistrate that correcteth or repro- veth us ? And Saint Peter saith, This is thanke-worthy, if a man for conscience toward God endure grieve, suffering wrongfully ; for what glory is it if when yee suffer for your faults, yee take it pati- ently ? but if when ye do well, and suffer for it, ye take it patiently, this is acceptable with God ; where you see still the rule of piety is none other but suffering, though it be never so unjustly.

How patheti- cally the Fa- thers perswade us to suffer, and not to resist.

Tertull. in A- pologues.

And therefore the Fathers are most plentiful in the explana- tion and confirmation of this point ; for *Tertullian*, that was no *babe* in the Schoole of Divinity, nor any *coward* in the Army of Christ, speaking of those *faithfull* Christians, that suffered no small measure of miseries in his time, saith, that one *short* night with a few little torches might have wrought their *deliverance*, and revenged all their wrongs, if it had beene *lawfull* for them to blot out or expell evill with evill ; but God forbid (saith he) *Vt aut igne humano vindicetur divina secta, aut doleat pati in quo probatur* ; that either the divine sect, that is, the Christian Reli- gion, should be *revenged* with humane fire ; or that it should *grieve* us to suffer, wherein we are *commended* for suffering.

Nazian. Orat. 1.

Nazianzen, that for his *soundnesse* of judgement, and *pro- foundnesse* of knowledge, was κατ' ἐξωχήν, termed *Theologus*, the Divine ; saith, that the fury of *Julian* that great Apostata, was repressed onely with the *teares* of the Christians, which many of them did most *plentifully* powre forth to God, when they had no other remedy against their Persecuter, because they knew it *unlawfull* for them to use any other meanes then *sufferance* ; or else they might (having so much strength as they had) have repelled their wrongs with violence.

Maikethat they say, it is unlaw- full to resist.

Ambros. ep. 33.

Saint *Ambrose* saith as much ; and *Prosper* in like manner saith, the present evils should be *suffered*, untill the promised happinesse doth come ; the Infidels should be *permitted* among the *faithfull*, and the plucking of the tares should be *deferred*, and let the wicked *rage* against the godly as much as they will, yet the case of the righteous is farre better ; because that *Quan-*

et acrius impetuntur, tanto gloriosius coronantur; by how much *Prosper in sent.* the more *sharply* they are tormented, by so much the more *gloriously* they shall be crowned.

And Saint *Bernard* saith, if all the world should *conspire* against me, and *conjure* me, that I should plot any thing against the *royall* majestie, yet I would *feare* God, and would not *dare* to offend the King that is appointed of him over me, because I am not ignorant of the place where I read, *Whosoever resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God.* *Bernard. Ep. 170.*

And yet he speaketh this of King *Lodovicus*, that offered a *monstrous* wrong to all the Clergy, when he *robbed* them, and tooke away all their goods without cause; and which is worse, would heare of no perswasions to make *restitution*, or to give them any satisfaction: as *Gaguinus* testifieth. *Gaguin. lib. 6.*

Thus the Fathers (whereof I could heape many more) doe testifie of this truth; and the Schoolemen tread in the same steps, and differ not a nailes bredth from them herein: For, *The Schoolemen of the same judgement.*

Alexander Hales saith, *wicked* and *evill* men ought to suffer for the fault of their *irrationability*, and *good* men ought to suffer, *Propter debitum divina ordinationis*, for the duty that they owe to the *divine* ordinance, and the benefit of their owne purgation: Whereupon S. *Ambrose* saith, if the Prince be *good*, he doth not punish the *well-doer*, but loveth him because hee doth well; but if the Prince be *evill*, and punisheth the *well-doer*, he *hurteth* him not, but *purgeth* him; and therefore he is not a *terror* to him that doth *well*: but the *wicked* ought to *feare*, because Princes are appointed that they should punish *evill*. *Ambrosius in Rom. 13. Alex. Hales, p. 3. q. 48. memb. 2. art. 1. de offic. subd. erga Princ.*

Aquinas saith, the *faith* of Christ is the *beginning* and the *cause* of righteousness, and therefore by the *faith* of Christ, the order of Justice is not *taken away*, but rather settled and strengthened; because (as our Saviour saith) *It became him to fulfill all righteousness*. But the *order of justice* doth require, that all *inferiours* should obey their *superiours*; otherwise the estate of humane affaires could no wayes be preserved: and therefore by the *faith* of Christ, the godly and the faithfull Christians are neither *exempted* nor *excused*; but that they are

tyed, and bound by the Law of Christ, to *obey* their secular Princes. Where you see the Christian *faith* doth not submit the *superiour* to the *inferiour*, contrary to the rule of *justice*; neither doth it any *wayes* for any *cause* permit the power of the sword to any *subject* to be used against his *Prince*, because this *inordinate* power would turne to the ruine of *mankinde*, and the destruction of all humane affaires; which can no otherwise be preserved, but through the preservation of the *order of justice*.

Wherein wee
may disobey,
and how.

Indeed many times there may happen some *just* causes, for which we are not bound to *obey* the commands of our Magistrates, as when they command any thing contrary to the commandements of God; and yet then there can be no *cause* why we should *withstand* him that executeth the *unjust* sentence of our condemnation, or requireth the *punishment* that an *unjust* malicious Magistrate, under the colour of his *power* and authority, hath most unjustly laid upon us; because he hath (as our Saviour saith unto *Pilate*) this *ordinary power from God*, which if he doth *abuse*, he is to be refrained, not by the preparation of *armes*, and the *insurrection* of his subjects to make impressions upon their Sovereigne, but by those lawfull meanes which are appointed for them; that is *Petitions* unto him, and *prayers* and *teares* unto God for him, because nothing else remaineth to him that is *guilty*, or condemned *as guilty* for any fault, but to *commit* his cause to the knowledge of the omnipotent God, and to expect the *judgement* of him which is *the King of Kings*, and the Judge of all Judges; and will undoubtedly chastize and correct the *iniquity* of any unjust sentence, with the *severity* of eternall justice, as *Barclay* saith.

Barcl., l. 3. c. 10.

Berchetus in ex-
plicat. contro-
ver. Gallicana,
cap. 7.

These testimonies are *cleare* enough: and yet to all these I will adde this one memorable example, which you may reade in *Berchetus*, and *Joh. Servinus*, which tell us, that in *France*, after the great Massacre at *Paris*, when the *reformed Religion* did seeme as it were forsaken, and almost extinguished, a certaine King, *powerfull* in strength, *rich* in wealth, and *terrible* for his Ships and navall Force, which was at *enmity* and hatred with the King of *France*, dispatched a solemne Embassie and
Message

Message unto *Henry King of Navarre*, and other Protestant Lords, and commanded his Embassadors to doe their best to set the *Protestants* against the *Papists*, and to arme *Henry the Prince of Navarre*, which then lived at *Bearne*, under the Dominion of the most Christian King, against his *Soveraigne*, the *French King*; which thing the Embassadors endeavoured to doe with all their art and skill, but all in vaine; for *Henry* being a good subject, as it were another *David*, to become a most excellent King, would not prevent the day of his Lord; yet the Embassadors offered him many ample, faire, and magnificent conditions, among the rest abundance of mony, the summe of three hundred thousand, *Aureorum scutatorum*, French Crownes, which were ready to be told for the preparation of the warre; and for the continuation of the same, there should be paid every moneth so much as was necessary; but *Henry* being a faithfull Christian, a good Prince, a widower; and though he was displaced from the publique government of the Commonwealth; and for his sake, for the dislike the King bare towards him, the King had banished many Protestants from his Countrey, and had killed many faithfull Pastours; yet would not he for all this lift up his hand against the Lords annointed; but refused their gold, rejected their conditions, and dismissed the Embassadors, as witnesses of his faith to God, his fidelity and allegiance to his King, and peaceable minde towards his Countrey.

An example of a faithfull, and excellent subject.

Joh. Servinus pro libertat. Ecclesie, & statu Regni, tom. 3. Monarchia Rom. p. 2025

Where you see this prudent and good Prince had rather patiently suffer these intolerable injuries that were offered, both to himselfe, to the inferiour Magistrates, and to many other good Christians for his sake, then any wayes undutifully resist the ordinance of God. And surely this example is most acceptable unto God, most wholesome for any Commonwealth, and most honourable for any subordinate Prince; for I am certaine this is the faith of Christ, and the religion of the true Protestants, not to offer, but to suffer all kinde of injuries, and to render good for evill; and rather with patience, love, and obedience, to study to gaine the favour of their Persecuters, then any wayes with force and armes to withstand those that God hath placed in authority,

authority, which must needs be not onely *offensive* unto God, whose ordinance they doe resist; but also *destructive* to the Common-wealth, which can never receive any *benefit* by any insurrection against the Prince.

3. Not for any tyranny that shall be offered unto us.

3. Though the King should prove to be *Nerone Neronior*, worse then *Phalaris*, and degenerating from all humanity, should prove a *Tyrant* to all his people; yet his *subjects* may not *rebell* against him upon this pretence; for if *any* cause should be admitted for which subjects might rebell, *that* cause would be alwayes alleadged by the Rebels, whensoever they did rebell; and whom *I* and *many* others should deeme a good Prince and most pious, the *Rebels* would proclaime him *tyrannicall* and idolatrous.

The difference betwixt King and people, to be determined onely by God.

And therefore in such a case, when *some* men thinke their King most *gratious*, and *others* thinke him *vitious*; some beleeve him to be *good*, others beleeve him to be *evill*; shall we thinke it fit that the *disaffected* party shall presently with *armes* decide the controversie, and not rather have the *accused*, the *accuser*, and the *witnesses* before a *competent* Judge, to determine the *truth* of this question? Surely this seemes more *reasonable*, and more agreeable unto the rules of *justice*, when as *The Law condemneth no man* (much lesse the King) *before his cause be heard*.

That we ought not by any meanes to resist our Kings. Proved.

And seeing such a *competent* Judge, as can justly determine this controversie betwixt the *King* and his *People*, or rather betwixt *one* part of his people and the *other*, cannot be found under Heaven; therefore, to avoid *civill* warres, and the *effusion* of humane and Christian bloud, and the *prevention* of abundance of other mischiefes; both the *Scripture* teacheth, and the *Church* beleeveth, and *Reason* it selfe sheweth, and the publique safety *requireth*, that we should transmit this question to be decided onely by him, which is the *King of Kings*, and Lord of Lords; and will, when he seeth good, binde evill Kings in *fetters*, and their Nobles with *links of iron*.

CHAP. V.

Sheweth by Scripture, the Doctrine of the Church, humane reason, and the welfare of the weale publique, that we ought by no means to rebell. A threefold power of every Tyrant. Three kindes of tyrannies. The doubtsfull and dangerous events of Warre. Why many men rebell. Iehu's example not to be followed.

1. **T**He Scripture saith, *I counsell thee to keepe the Kings commandement, and that in regard of the oath of God; that is, the oath whereby thou hast sworn before God, and by God to obey him; Be not hasty to goe out of his sight, that is, not out of his presence, but out of his rule and government, and stand not in an evill thing; that is, in opposition or rebellion against thy King, which must needs be evill, and the worst of all evils to thy King, for He doth whatsoever pleaseth him; that is, hee hath power and authority to doe what he pleaseth. Where the Word of a King is, there is power; and who may say unto him, What dost thou? or, Why dost thou so? And Solomon saith, A Greyhound, an Hee Goat, and a King, against whom there is no rising up; there ought not to bee indeed. I will not set downe what Samuel saith, but desire you to reade the place, 1 Sam. 8. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18. where you shall see what the King will doe, and what remedy the Prophet prescribeth against him, not to rebell and take up armes, but to cry unto the Lord that he would helpe them. And Saint Paul saith, Whosoever resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God, and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation. And Saint Peter saith, that they which despise government, and are not affraid to speake evill of dignities, are presumptuous, and doe walke after the flesh in the lusts of uncleannesse, and as naturall brut beasts, that are made to be taken and destroyed, they speake evill of the things they understand not, and therefore they shall utterly perish in their owne corruption. And Saint Jude*

1. By the Scriptures.

Ecclesiast. 8.

2, 3, 4.

Prov. 30. 31.

Rom. 13. 2.

2 Pet. 2. 10. 12.

Jude 8. 10, 11.

1 Tim. 2. 2.

in like manner calleth those that *despise* Dominion, and speake *evill* of Dignities; (the very phrase of Saint Peter) *filthy dreamers*, that defile the flesh; and therefore shall perish in the gainsaying of *Corah*. This is the doctrine of God, therefore Saint Paul exhorteth us not to *rebell*, nor to speake *evill* of our Kings, be they what they will; but *first* of all, or *before* all things, to make *prayers* and *supplications* for our Kings, and for all that are in authority. And I wonder what *spirit*, except it were the spirit of *hell* it selfe, durst ever *presume* to answer and evade such *plaine* and pregnant places of Scripture, to *countenance* disobedience, and to *justifie* their rebellion: And therefore,

2. By the Doctrine of the Church.

Cyrril. in Iohan. l. 12. c. 56.

2. The Church of Christ beleeveth this Doctrine to be the truth of God; for no man (saith Saint Cyrril) without punishment, *resisteth* the Lawes of Kings, but Kings themselves, in whom the fault of prevarication hath no place; because it is wisely said, *it is impiety* (therefore against the will of God) to say unto the King, *Iniquè agis*, thou dost amisse; for, as God is the *supreame* Lord of all, which *judgeth* all, and is *judged* of none; so the Kings and Princes of the earth, which doe *correct* and judge *others*, are to be *corrected* & judged of *none*, but only of God, to whose power and authority they are onely subject; and therefore King David, understanding his owne station well enough, when he was both an *adulterer* and a *murderer*, and prayeth to God for mercy, saith, *Against thee onely have I sinned*; because I acknowledge none other my *superiour* on earth besides thee alone; and I have no *judge* besides thee which can call me to examination, or inflict any punishment on me for my transgression: And so the Poet saith,

*Regum timendorum in proprios greges,
Reges in ipsos imperium est Jovis.*

Ob.

But you will object against S. Cyrril, if it be *impiety* to say unto the King, *Thou dost amisse*; how shall we excuse Samuel that told King Saul, he did *foolishly*; and Nathan that reprov-
ed King David, and Elias that said to King Ahab, it was *he*
and his fathers house that made Israel to sinne; and John Bap-
tist

tist that told *Herod*, *It was not lawfull for him to have his brothers wife.*

I answer 1. That by the *mouth* of these men God himselfe reproveth them; because these men were no *private* persons, but *extraordinarily* inspired with the spirit of God, to performe the extraordinary messages of God.

Sol. What the Priest or Prophet may doe, private men may not doe.

2. I say as I said before, that as *Moses* may *correct* and punish *Aaron* if he doth amisse, so *Aaron* the Priest in regard of his calling, may *reprove* and admonish *Moses* the chiefe Magistrate when hee doth offend; but so, that he doe it *wisely*, and with that love and *reverence* which he oweth unto *Moses*, as to his God; not *publiquely* to disgrace and vilifie his Prince unto his people, but modestly and privately to amend his fault, and reconcile him to God: and this is the worke of his *office* which he ought to doe as he is a *Priest*, and not of his person, which ought not to doe it, as he is his subject.

3. *Reason* it selfe confirmeth this truth, because the King is the *head* of the body politique; and the *members* can neither judge the *head*, because they are subject unto it; nor *cut* it off, because then they *kill* themselves, and cease to be the *members* of that head: and therefore the *subjects* with no reason can either *judge* or *depose* their King.

3. By humane reason.

4. The *publique safety* and welfare of any Common-wealth requireth that the subjects should never rebell against their King. 1. Because the *event* of a rebellious warre is both *dangerous* and *dangerous*; for who can *divine* in whose ruine it shall end? or which party can *assure* themselves of victory? It is true, that the *justest* cause hath *best* reason to be most confident; yet it succeeds not alwayes: when God for *secret* causes best knowne unto himselfe, suffereth *many* times, especially for a time, (as in the case of the Tribe of *Benjamin*) the *Rebels* to prevaile against the true subjects. And as the *event* is *doubtfull*, so it must needs be *mournfull*, what side soever proveth victor; for who can expresse the *sorrowes* and sadnesse of those faithfull subjects, that shall see the *light* of their sunne any wayes eclipsed? the *lampe* of *Israel*, and the *breath* of their nostrils to be darkned or extinguished? and also to see the *learned*

4. From the welfare of every Common-wealth. The event of every warre is doubtfull.

ned.

ned Clergy, and the *grave* Fathers of the Church discountenanced and destroyed? On the other side, it will not be *much lesse* mournfull to see so *many* of our *illustrious* Nobles, *ancient* Gentry, and others of the *ablest* Commonalty brought to *ruine*; and to pay for their folly not onely their *dearest* lives, but also the *desolation* of their houses, and *decay* of their posterities.

Quis talia fando temperet à lachrymis?

Bella geri placuit nullos habitura triumphos, Lucan. l. 1.

When the Kings victory shall be but like that of *David*, after the death of *Abolon*, and the Nobles victory but as the two victories of the *Benjamites* over their owne brethren the *Israelites*; and the best *triumph* that can succeed on either side, shall be but as the *esponsall* of a virgin on the day of her parents *funerall*, or as the laying of the foundation of the second Temple, when the shout of *joy* could not be discerned from the noyse of *weeping*.

Mr. Warmstey
in Ramo Oliva,
p. 231.

And therefore a learned Preacher of Gods Word saith most truely, that it is a *hard* matter to finde out a mischief of so *destructive* a nature, that we would exchange it for this *civill* warre; for *Tyranny*, *Slavery*, *Penury*, or any thing almost, may be better borne with *peace* and *unity*, then a *civill* warre with the greatest *liberty* and *plenty*; seeing the *comfort* of such associates would quickly be *swallowed* up, like *Pharaohs* fatted kine, by such a *monster* feeding with them.

Prov. 15. 16, 17.

Had we a *Tyrant* like *Rehoboam*, that would whip us with *Scorpions*, (which the *Devill* dares not be so impudent as to alleadge we have) yet better it were to be under *one* Tyrant then *many*, which we are sure to have in *civill* broyles, when every *wicked* man becomes a *Tyrant*, when he seeth the reines of government cut in pieces. Were we under the yoke of an *Egyptian* slavery, to make bricks without straw, yet better it were for us to be in *bondage*, then that *fury* and violence should be set free, and *malice* suffered to have her will; because there is more *safety* in being *shut* up from a *Tyger*, then to be let *loose* before him to be chased by him: or were we *wasted* and oppressed in our estates, yet the *wisest* of men tels us, that *Better is a little with the feare of the Lord, then great treasure and trouble therewith.*

And

And therefore seeing civill warre is *Μάστιξ βαρύνουσα πρὸς καὶ πρὸς*
λυσιμύθος Ⓞ, an affliction full of all calamity, and one of the *grea-*
test punishments that God useth to send upon a Nation: it is
 apparent that the *welfare* of any State calleth upon *every* sub-
 ject to be *obedient* unto his King; yea, though he were never
 so *vile* an Idolater, or so *cruell* a Tyrant: for though a King
 could be *proved*, and should be *condemned* to be cruell and ty-
 rannous, unjust and impious towards God and men, yet hereby
 that King will not yeeld what he doth hold from God, but
 though the *confederate* conspirators should have a thousand
 times *more* men and strength then he; yet he will call his ser-
 vants and friends, his kinsmen, allies, and other circumjacent
 Kings and Princes unto his *aide*, and he would hire mercenary
 Souldiers, to revenge the *injury* offered unto him, and to sup-
 presse the *Rebels* both with fire and sword: and if hee should
 happen to have the *worse*, and to loose both his Crowne
 and Kingdome, and his life and all, yet all this would be but a
miserable comfort, and a *lamentable* victory to a ruined Com-
 mon wealth, whose *winning*s can no wayes countervaile her
losses; for we never reade of *any* King that either was distur-
 bed, expelled, or killed, but there succeeded *infinite* losses to
 that Kingdome; and therefore Writers say, that the death of
Caesar was no benefit unto the *Romanes*, because it brought up-
 on them farre *greater* calamities then ever they felt before, as
 you may finde in *Appian*, those infinite miseries that succeeded
 in severall fields and battels, which could never end untill the
 overthrow of *Anthony* by *Augustus Caesar*; and when *Nero*
 perished, it fell out with no good successe, but the next yeare
 that followed after his death, felt *more* oppression, and spilt
 more blood then was spilt in all those * nine yeares wherein
 hee had so *tyrannically* reigned: So when the *Athenians*
 had expelled *one* Tyrant, they brought in thirty; and when
 the *Romanes* had abandoned their *Kings*, they did not put a-
 way the tyrannie, but changed the Tyrants; for wicked *Kings*
 they chose more wicked *Consuls*, which is nothing else, but
 (as the Proverbe goeth) *Antigonum effodere*, to goe out of
 Gods blessing into the warme Sunne, or rather to change a

The miseries
 that follow the
 disturbance or
 deposing of a-
 ny King, are
 unspeakable.

His first *Quin-*
quennium was
 good.

A fable worth
the observing.

bad Master for a *worse*: And this is contrary to the judgement of that *ulcerated* wretch in the fable, who, when the traveller saw him *full* of flies, swarming in his sores, and pittying his miseries, would have *swept* them off, prayed him to let them alone, for that *these* being now well filled, would sucke the lesse, but if these were gone, more *hungry* flies would come, which would most *miserably* suck his bloud.

Who doe many
times rebell,
and why.

And so Histories tell us of *many* other Kings that by Hea-
thens, and *rebellious* subjects, were for their *injustice*, cruel-
ty, and tyrannie, either *expelled*, or *murdered*; but very seldome
or never with any *publique* benefit, when the *chiefest* plotters of
any *rebellion* doe most chiefly aime at their owne *private* re-
venge, or profit. Yea, many times those very *Parasiticall*
Lords, that have most perswaded the King, to do things which
he knew not to be *illegall*, and made benefit of those *Monopo-
lies* and *exactions* to their owne advantage, to fill their owne
purses; and then upon either *discontent* with the King, or to
content the people, and to *escape* their owne due deserved pu-
nishment, will be the chiefest *upbraiders* of their King, the
greatest *sticklers* of rebellion, and the *head leaders* of all the dis-
loyall Faction. What *fooles* then are the people, upon the
false pretence of *publique* good, to take up armes to destroy
themselves; when this name of *publique* good is nothing else
but a vaine *shadow* to hide their *private* ends?

A threefold
power in every
Tyrant.

Or were it granted, that it might *happen* for the *publique*
good, yet it is not *good* to doe it, because it can never stand with
a *good* conscience, because it is contrary to the *Commandement*
of God; for in every *Tyrant* there is a *threefold* power and au-
thority that doth concur. 1. *Paternall*. 2. *Conjugall*. 3. *He-
rile*: and you know the *law* of God doth not permit the *chil-
dren* to renounce their *father*, nor which is lesse, to *laugh at*
their fathers nakednesse; nor doth it suffer the *wife* to forsake her
husband; nor the *servant* to chastise his *Lord* and Master; and
therefore much lesse may the *Subjects* deprive their *King* from
his Dominion, and take from him what *God* hath given him;
or any wayes chastize him for his *ill* government, whereof he
is accomptable to *God*, and not to them: or if they might de-
pose

pose him, or reduce him by their correction, when he doth *degenerate* into a Tyrant ; yet seeing there are many kinds of Tyrannies, I demand if the *same* reason shall serve to proceed against all kindes of Tyrannie, to the *like* condemnation of all tyrannous Kings? and this every Sophister will deny ; for where the punishment is not *proportionable* to the fault, the sentence is most *unjust*, and the *suppressors* of the Tyrant doe shew the signes of a *worse* tyrannie ; and if there must be an *adaquation* of the punishment to the sinne, I would know how they would distinguish to impose the *just* measure that is due to *each* kinde of tyranny.

Punishment should be proportionable to the fault.

But to leave the *Rebels* in this Labyrinth, till they be better able to evade ; I say that there are *three* speciall kindes of tyrannies :

3 Kindes of tyrannies.

1. Is against all *humane* right for his owne *private* commodity, to the *publique* losse and dammage of his subjects, as was the tyranny of *Achab*, when he tooke away *Naboths* vineyard ; and of those Kings which *Samuel* doth describe.

1. Kinde.

1 Sam. 8.

2. Violateth the *divine* Law, to the contumelie of the *Creator*, as was the tyranny of *Nebuchadnezzar*, when he would have forced the three children to adore his golden Image ; and of *Jeroboam* the sonne of *Nebat*, that made *Israel* to sinne, because he *compelled* them to goe to *Dan* and *Bethel* to adore his Calves ; and *kindred* them to goe to *Hierusalem* for to worship the true God.

2. Kinde.

3. Treadeth and trampleth under foot both the *divine* and *humane* right, to the utter overthrow of all *piety* and *justice*, as was the tyranny of *Manasses*, *Julian*, and others, that regarded neither the *worship* of God, nor the *good* of men.

3. Kinde.

And I doe *confidently* affirme, that *each* one of these tyrannies apart, or *all* of them coupled in one Tyrant ; as well that which offereth violence unto *God*, as that which bringeth calamity and cruelty unto *man*, ought to be *suffered* and not *abolished*, untill he doth abrogate the same, which *alone* looseth the *belts* of Kings, and *girdeth* about their loynes, as *Job* speaketh ; for you know the *fore-named* Tyrants, and many more as bad or worse then they, as *Solomon* himselfe, that by his *Oppression*,

These should
be our patterns,
unlesse we have
some new re-
velations.

Polygamie, and *Idolatry*, had most grievously sinned both against God and man, and yet all of them went on without either the *diminution* of their glory, or the *losse* of their dominions: and *Achab* did most tyrannically kill *Naboth*, and tooke away his Inheritance without law, (as *David* did before kill *Urias*, a most innocent man, and tooke away his *wife*, contrary to all law, which was *death* by their law to any other man;) and he exiled the Prophets, and was the death of many of them, and he trampled downe the *true* Religion under his feet, and by *publique* authority established the *Idolatrous* worship of *Baal* in every place; and yet neither the inferiour *Magistrates*, nor the greatest *Peeres*, nor the *consent* of all the people, durst presume, contrary to the *ordinance* of God, to *depose* or *suppresse* any of these tyrannous men.

Ob.
2 Reg. 9.
Sol.

If you alleadge *Jehu*, I confesse indeed he did it, when he conspired against *Foram*, his owne Lord and Master.

But how did he this? by a power *extraordinarily* given him from Heaven, as you may see in the 6. and 7. verses of that Chapter, when the same was not permitted him by any *lawes*, as *Iezabell* her selfe could tell him; *Had Zimri peace which slew his Master?* to whom hee might have answered, Hee breakes no *law* that obeyeth the commands of the *law-maker*, no more then the *Israelites* could be accused of *theft*, when they did rob the *Egyptians*, or *Abraham* of murder, if he had killed *Isaac*; but without this *speciall* command he could not have done this *extraordinary* worke without sinne; and therefore that which *he* could not doe *then*, without the warrant of the heavenly Oracle, cannot be done *now* by any *other*, without the *contempt* of the Deitie, the *reproach* of Majestie, and abundance of *dammage* to the Common-wealth. And so not onely I, but also *Peter Martyr* commenteth upon the place; where he saith, God stirred up and armed one onely *Jehu* against his Lord; which fact, as it is *peculiar* and singular, so it is not to be drawne for any *example*: for certainly, if it might bee lawfull for the people upon any pretence, to expell their *Kings* and Governours, though never so *wicked* and unjust, from their Kingdomes and government, no Kings or Princes could be safe

Jehu's example not to be imitated.

in

in any place; for though they should raigne never so *justly* and holily, yet they should never satisfie the *people*, but they would still accuse them of *injustice* and impiety, that they might *depose* them.

Petrus Martyr
loc. com. class. 4.
loc. 20.

And *Bodinus* in his *Policie* differeth not at all from this *Divinity*; for he saith, if the Prince be an absolute *Soveraigne*, as are the Kings of *France, Spaine, England, Scotland, Ethiopia, Turkie, Persia, Muscovie*, and the like, true Monarchs, whose authority cannot be *doubted*, and their chiefe rule and government cannot be *imparted* with their subjects; in this case it is not *lawfull* for any *one* apart, nor for *all* together, to conspire and attempt any thing, either of *fact*, or under the colour of *right*, against the *life* or the *honour* of his Prince or Monarch; yea, though his Prince should commit *all kinde* of impiety and cruelty, which the tongue of any man could expresse. For, as concerning the order of *right*, the subject hath *no kinde* of jurisdiction against his Prince, from whom dependeth and proceedeth *all the power* and authority of commanding, (as they that rise against their King, doe notwithstanding send out their warrants and commands in the Kings name) and who not onely can *recall* all the facultie of *judging* and governing from his inferiour Magistrates whensoever he please; but also being present, all the *power* and jurisdiction of all his *under* Magistrates, Corporations, Colledges, Orders, and Societies doe cease, and are even then *reduced* into him, from whom before they were *derived*.

Johan. Bodinus
de repub. l. 2. c. 5.

But we finde it many times, that not the *fault* of the Prince, nor the *good* of the Common-wealth, but either the *hiding* of their owne shame, or the *hope* of some private gaine induceth *many* men to kindle and blow up the flames of *civill* discord; for as *Paterculus* saith, *Ita se res habet ut publicâ ruinâ quisque malit, quam suâ proteri*: It so falls out, that men of *desperate* conditions, that with *Catiline*, have out-runne their fortunes, and quite spent their estates, had rather perish in a *common* calamity, which may hide the *blemish* of their sinking, then to be exposed to the shame of a *private* misery: and we know, that *many* men are of such *base* behaviour, that they

The true causes
that move ma-
ny men to di-
sturb the State
and to rebell.

*Paterculus in
Histor. Roman.*

care not what *losse* or calamity befalls others, so they may *enrich* themselves; so it was in the *civill* warres of *Rome*, *Bella non causis inita, sed prout merces eorum fuit*; they undertooke the same not upon the *goodnesse* of the cause, but upon the *hope* of prey: and so it is in most warres, that *avarice* and desire of *gaine* makes way for *all kinde* of cruelty and oppression, and then it is as it was among the *Romans*, a fault enough to bee *wealthy*; and they shall be *plundered*, that is, in plaine *English*, robbed of their goods and possessions, without any shew of *legall* proceedings.

But they that *build* their owne houses out of the *ruine* of the State, and make themselves *rich* by the *impoverishing* of their neighbours, are like to have but small *profit*, and lesse *comfort* in such rapine; because there is a *hidden* curse that lurketh in it, and their *account* shall be great, which they must render for it.

*August. contra
Faustum Man.
l. 22. c. 70.*

Therefore I conclude this point: that for no *cause*, and upon no *pretext*, it is lawfull for any subject to *rebell* against his Sovereigne governour; for *Moses* had a cause of *justice*, and a seeming equity to defend and revenge his brother upon the *Egyptian*: And Saint *Peter* had the zeale of *true* religion, and as a man might thinke, as great a *reason* as could be, to defend his *Master* that was most innocent, from most vile and base indignities, and to free him from the hands of his most cruell persecuters; and yet (as *S. Augustine* saith) *Uterque justitie regulam excessit; & ille fraterno, iste Dominico amore peccavit*; both of them exceeded the *rule* of justice: and *Moses* out of his love to his brother, and Saint *Peter* out of his respect to his Master, have *transgressed* the commandement of God.

And therefore I hope all men will yeeld, that what *Moses* could not doe for his brother, nor Saint *Peter* for his Master, and the religion of his Master Christ, that is, to strike any one without lawfull authority, ought not to be done by any other man, for what *cause* or *religion* soever it be; especially to make insurrection against his King, contrary to all *divine* authority. for the *true* religion hath beene alwayes *humble*, *patient*, and the

the preserver of peace and quietnesse; and (as Saint *Augustine* *Pro temporali salute non pugnavit, sed potius ut obtineret aternam, non repugnavit. Aug. de Civit. l. 22. c. 6.*) the Citie of God, though it *wandered* never so much on earth, and had many *troopes* of mighty people, yet for their *temporall* safety they would not fight against their *impious* persecuters, but rather *suffered* without resistance, that they might attaine unto *eternall* health.

And so I end this *first* part of the objection, with that Decree of the Councell of *Eliberis*, if any man shall breake the *Idols* to pieces, and shall be there *killed* for the doing of it, because it is not *written* in the Gospell, and the *like* fact is not found to be done at any time by the Apostles, it pleased the Councell that he shall not be received into the number of *Martyrs*; because (contrary to the practice of *our dayes*, when every base mechanick runnes to the Church to break downe, not *Heathen* Idols, but the *Pictures* of the blessed Saints out of the windows) they conceived it unlawfull for any man to pull downe *Idolatry*, except he had a *lawfull* authority. *Concil. Eliber. Can. 60.*

CHAP. VI.

Sheweth, that neither private men, nor the subordinate Magistrates, nor the greatest Peeres of the Kingdome may take armes, and make Warre against their King. Buchanans mistake discovered, and the Anti-Cavalier confuted. 2. Part of the objection answered. No kinde of men ought to rebell.

2. **A**S it is not lawfull for any *cause*, so no more is it lawfull for any *one*, or for any *degree*, calling, or kinde of men, to *rebell* against their lawfull Governours: For, 1. Not private men. *Calv. Inst. l. 4. c. 20. §. 31. Beza Confess. c. 5. p. 171. J. Brutus q. 3. pag. 203. Dan. de Polit. Christ. l. 6. c. 3. Bucan loc. com. 49. §. 76.*

1. Touching *private men*, we finde that *Calvin*, *Beza*, *Juanus Brutus*, *Danaus*, *Bucanus*, and molt others yeeld, that meere *private men* ought not to *rebell* at any hand; and no wonder, for the *Scriptures* forbid it flatly: as *Exod. 22. 28. Revile not the Gods, curse not the Ruler. 1 Chron. 16. 22. Touch not mine annoynted. Prov. 30. 31. Rise not up against the King,* that

The examples
of obedience
to Kings,

that is, to resist him. *Eccles. 8. 3. Let no man say to the King, Why dost thou so? Eccles. 10. 17. Curse not the King in thy thought.* And the examples of obedience in this kinde are *innumerable*, and most remarkable; for *David* when he had *Saul*, a wicked King, guilty of all *impiety* and *cruelty*, in his owne hand, yet would he not lay his hand upon the *Lords annoynted*, but was troubled in *conscience* when he did but cut the *lap* of his garment: *Elias* could call for fire from Heaven to burne the two Captaines and their men, a hundred in number, onely for desiring him to come downe unto the King; as you may see, *2 Reg. 1. 10, 12.* and yet he would not resist *Achab* his King that sought his life, and was an enemy to all religion; but hee rather *fled* then desired any *revenge*, or perswaded any man to *rebell* against him. *Esayas* was sawed in pieces by *Manasses*, *Jeremy* was cast into the Dungeon, *Daniel* exposed to the *Lions*, the Three Children throwne into the fiery Furnace, *Amos* thrust through the temples, *Zacharias* slaine in the porch of the Temple, *James* killed with the sword, *Peter* fastened to the Crosse with his head downward, *Bartholomew* beaten to death with clubs, *Matthew* beheaded, *Paul* slaine with the sword, and all the glorious company of the *Martyrs*, which have *ennobled* the Church with their innocent life, and *inlarged* the same by their pretious death, never *resisted* any of their Persecuters, never *perswaded* any man to *rebell* against them, never *curst* the Tyrants, never *implored* the aide of the inferiour Magistrates, or superiour Nobility, either by force to *escape* their hands, or by violence to *resist* their power; for they thought it more *honour* unto God, and farre better to themselves, that the *just* should *unjustly* suffer for righteousness sake, then under the *colour* of justice undutifully to *resist*, and unjustly to *rebell* against these unjust Persecuters.

Why the holy
Saints obeyed
the unjust Ty-
rants.

A strange Po-
sition.

And yet some men are not ashamed to averre, that meere *private* men and inferiour subjects, if their King as a Tyrant should invade them like a *robber* or ravisher, may defend themselves and *oppose* the Tyrant, as well and as violently as they may *resist* a private *thiefe*, or a high-way robber.

But how untruely they doe avouch this thing will plainly
appeare,

appeare, if you consider how *disjunctive* these things are, and how *unjustly* they are alleadged for this purpose; for a Chirurgion launceth a man, and draweth his bloud, and so doth the *thiefe* or a robber; but he deserveth a *reward*, this a *rope*: So, the *Prince* sometimes doth in some sort the *same* thing, and it may be after the *like* manner as a *thiefe* or a robber doth, as often as with a *strong* hand he taketh the goods of his subjects, and forceth the *rebellious* unto obedience. But will you say that *both* of them doe it by the *same* right? I hope not: for God gave the *power* and the sword unto the *Prince*, and he, as the *Judge* of our actions, useth the *same* *ad vindictam*, for the punishment of our offence; but the *thiefe* or the robber *usurpeth* the sword, and abuseth the *same* *ad rapinam*, to our destruction: and therefore whosoever saith, that a subject hath the *same* reason to rise against his *Prince* that punisheth him, as a *traveller* hath against a *robber* that stealeth from him, may well be ashamed of such doctrine, that carryeth so little shew of any truth.

But you will say, the *Prince* that is a *Tyrant* punisheth for no *fault*, without any *just* cause, nay, altogether *unjustly*, and against all truth; as *Saul* persecuted *David*, and put to death the *harmelesse* Priests: and *David* did the like to *Urias*, *Achab* to *Naboth*, *Joash* to *Zachary*, *Manasses* to *Esay*, *Pilate* to *Christ*, *Nero* to *Peter*, and perhaps *Theodosius* to the *Thessalonians*; may they not resist in *such* a case, when they are thus punished and persecuted without cause?

I answer, that under *Saul*, *David*, *Achab*, *Joash*, and *Manasses*, there lived many faithfull *Priests* and *Prophets*, that were both *upright* for life, and *excellent* for knowledge; and in the dayes of *Christ*, *Zacchaeus*, *Nicodemus*, and *Gamaliel*, were inferiour *Magistrates*, and were also *pious* men, and *skilfull* in the understanding as well of *Politique* as of *Divine* affaires; and we are sure, that no age brought forth either more learned *Bishops* or holier *Saints*, then the *Apostles* and *Disciples* of *Christ*, that lived under *Nero*, and those excellent *Fathers* that were in the time of *Theodosius*; and yet never any of these, not one of them all shewed us this *resisting* way to escape the force

The Tyrant hath a just power, though he useth the same unjustly; so hath not the thiefe or the robber.

Ergo

But if the King requires more than this just due

He is to be commed a Robber

Sol.

How the Saints at all times suffered, and never resisted their Kings.

of tyrannie ; but it hath beene *alwayes* the doctrine of Christ and his Church, that Kings and Princes offending the *lawes*, and transcending the *bounds* of their duties, have *onely* God for their revenger, and ought not to be *resisted* by *any* man, or any *kinde* of men, though they should never so much *abuse* that power which they have received from God.

Christ and his
Apostles per-
swade all men
obediently to
suffer.

And therefore Christ himselfe and all his Saints, not onely *suffered* their greatest rage, but also exhibited all *honour*, and shewed all *reverence* unto their most cruell Persecuters ; and they perswaded *all* others, both by their *precepts* and *examples*, to doe the like, and that not onely for *feare* of wrath, but also for *conscience* sake ; because the *King* is Gods *Steward*, which Christ hath set over his whole familie : and if the *Steward*, like the *evill* servant in the Gospell, shall begin to despise his *ma-ster*, neglect his *duty*, smite his *fellows*, and dissolutely goe on *to eate and drinke, and be drunken* ; yet not *all* the whole familie, not the *Priests*, not the *Nobles*, not the *Commons*, nor yet *all together* have any power or right to *displace* that *Steward* which their Lord hath *appointed* over them ; but they with *patience* must expect and wait for the coming of their *master*, which *onely* hath authority to call him to his account, and to *displace* him, and dispose of him at his pleasure.

3. Degrees of
men.

Besides, we know that among men *every one* is either *superiour, inferiour, or equall*. And,

1. The *superiour* is no way subject to his *inferiour*.

2. The *inferiour* is every way subject to his *superiour*. But

3. An *equall* hath no power nor authority against his *equall*.

Exod. 18. 21.

Tostatus in
Num. 25. 9.

As for example, in the Common-wealth of *Israel* there were Rulers of *thousands*, and Rulers of *hundreds*, Rulers of *fifties*, and Rulers of *tens* ; and those of *tens* were over the people, those of *fifties* were over the *tens*, those of *hundreds* over the *fifties*, those of *thousands* over the *hundreds*, the 70 *Elders* over them, and *Moses* (as the King) over all ; and he was *subject* neither to *any* of them apart, nor to *all* of them together, but

Ambros. in Ps.
30.

onely unto God himselfe ; and therefore (as S. *Ambrose* saith) he was *obliged* by no lawes, because *Kings* are free from the bonds of offences, and cannot be called to their *punishment* by
any

any Statute, *Tuti imperii potestate*, being safe from men by the power of their Dominion.

But then you will object: If the *Tyrant* may thus doe what he will, without *resistance*, then he may destroy the whole *Society* of men, and especially the *Church* of Christ, when the *worse* part, that is, the *Tyrant* and his Flatterers, shall take and roote away the *better*; that is, the *true* servants of God.

Ob.

I answer, that the *society* of men and the *communion* of Saints, the *Church* of Christ and the *Common wealth*, are continued and preserved, not by any *humane* policie, but by the *divine* providence, which useth the power and policie of men to doe it; and yet, contrary to their *power*, and beyond all their *policies*, suffereth not the same to be *destroyed* by the subtlety or cruelty of any *Tyrant*, whom he can *bridle* when he will; and either put a *hooke* in his nostrills, or *cut* him off at his pleasure; and though this our God, *when* he will, and as *long* as he will, suffereth *wicked* Kings and *Tyrants* to reigne and rage over his people, and disposeth the Ministerie of those *evill* Governours for the punishment of *ungodlinesse*, or the tryall of our *faith*; yet he is no *lesse* mercifull and good unto us, when, either for the prooffe of our *fidelity*, or the scourging of our *sinnes* by cruell *Tyrants*, for the *healing* of our dying and perishing soules, hee *punisheth* us; then when he heapeth his *blessings* upon us, by most meeke and clement Princes, for the comfort and consolation of this present life. Neither may we thinke, that by this *sufferance* of God, the *worse* part can take away the *better*, or that the Devill by this *meanes* shall be able to overthrow the *Church* of Christ, against which *the gates of Hell* shall never be able to *prevaile*; because he doth not cast his *vessell* into the furnace of tribulation, *Ut frangatur, sed ut coquatur*; and, as the Goldsmith doth not cast his gold into the fire to *consume* it, but to *purge* it; so God never did, nor ever will, in the greatest persecutions, *deliver up his inheritance as a prey* unto the *Tyrants* *teeth*, nor submit his people unto the hands of their adversaries, that they might be oppressed to *destruction*; but onely that they might be pressed and reduced to *amendment*, or delivered from their miseries to salvation.

Sol.
God preserveth his Church.

Why God punisheth his servants.

The best means
to escape our
punishments.

Theodor. Orat.
7. de Providen-
tia.

Ambrosius in
Orat. contra
Auxent. tom. 5.
Ep. 32. simi-
lia habet.

Basilus ut est
apud Lonice-
rum in Theatro
Historico, pag.
154.

Chrysost. in E-
pist. ad Cyria-
cum.

And therefore, when the *Saints* of God lye under the hands of a cruell *Tyrant*, Christ hath prescribed them farre *better* meanes, both for his *glory* and their owne *comfort*, to escape his tyranny, then by *resisting* his power. And these *meanes* I finde to be, *amendment* of life, *teares* for our sinnes, *prayers* to God, *flight* from them, and *patience* to suffer when we cannot escape: For so *Theodore* saith, as often as *Tyrants* sit at the sterne of the Common-wealth, or *cruell* masters doe rule over us, the *wrath* of God is to be pacified, and the mitigation of these miseries is to be sought for by earnest *prayers*, and serious *amendment* of our lives. And Christ, when hee was sought to be murdered by *Herod*, fled into *Egypt*; and he adviseth us, *When we are persecuted in one Citie, to flie into another*; and when by *flight* we cannot escape, then as the *Martyrs* and godly *Confessors* did, so must we doe; either *mollifie* the *Tyrants* by our humble *prayers*, or offer up our soules to God by true *patience*: For so Saint *Ambrose* saith, I have not learned to *resist*, but I can *grieve*, and *weepe*, and *sigh*; and against the *weapons* of the *Souldiers* and the *Gothes*, my *teares* and my *prayers* are my weapons; otherwise, neither *ought* I, neither *can* I *resist*. And Saint *Basil* saith, I will not betray my *faith* for feare of the losse of my *goods*, or of *banishment*, or of *death* it selfe; for I have no wealth besides a torne garment, and a few books. I remaine on earth as one that is alwayes going away, and my feeble body shall overcome all sence of paine and torments, *Unâ acceptâ plagâ*, when I shall receive but one stroke. And Saint *Chrysostome*, when he was driven from *Constantinople*, said unto himselfe, if the *Empresse* will *banish* me, let her banish me; *for the earth is the Lords, and the fulnesse of it*: If she cut me in pieces, let her cut me; *Esayas* suffered the same punishment: If she will have me throwne into the *Sea*, I will remember *Jonas*: If she will throw me into the fiery *furnace*, the three *Children* suffered the like doome: If she will cast me to *wilde beasts*, let her doe it; I shall call to minde how *Daniel* was cast into the *Lyons den*: If she will *stone* me to death, let her stone me; I have *Steven* the *Protomartyr* my companion: If she will take away my *head*, let her take it; I have *John Baptist*.

rist for my fellow : If she will take away my goods and substance, let her take it ; for, *I came naked out of my mothers wombe, and naked I shall retorne againe.* And Saint Bernard *Bernard. Epist. faith, whatsoever it pleaseth you to do, concerning your Kingdome, your Crowne, and your Soule, we that are the children of the Church cannot any wayes dissemble the injuries and contempt of our mother ; and therefore truely we will stand and fight unto death (if needs be) for our mother, but with those weapons wherewith we may lawfully doe it ; not with swords, speares, and shields, but with our prayers and teares to God.* And it would be too tedious for me to set down all that I might collect of this kinde, most excellent sayings of those worthy men, which never hoped for any glory in the Kingdome of Heaven, but by suffering patiently in the Kingdome of the Earth; and when they could, did faithfully discharge the duties of their places ; and when they could not, did willingly undergoe the bitternesse of death, and were alwayes faithfull both to their good God, and their evill Kings ; to God rather by suffering Martyrdome, then offend his majestie ; and to their Kings, not in committing that evill which they commanded, but in suffering that punishment which they inflicted upon them.

2. As no private men, of what ranke or condition soever they be, so neither *Magistratus populares*, the peoples Magistrates, as some terme them ; nor *Junius Brutus* his *Optimates regni*, the prime Noblemen of the Kingdome ; nor *Althusius* his *Ephori*, the Kings assistants in the government of the people ; nor his great Councell of Estate, nor any other kinde, calling, or degree of men, may any wayes resist, or at any time rebel for any cause or colour whatsoever, against their lawfull Kings and supream Governours.

1. Because they are not, as *Althusius* doth most falsly suggest, *Magistratus summo superiores*, but they are inferiours to the supream and chiefe Magistrate ; otherwise, how can hee be *Summus*, if he be not *Supremus* ? or how can Saint Peter call the King *supereminens*, 1 Pet. 2. 13. if the inferiour Magistrates be *superiours* unto him ? and it is *Contra ordinem justitie*, contrary to the rules of justice, as I told you before out of

2. Not the Nobility or Peeres.
Calvin. Instit. l. 4. c. 20 §. 3.
Beza in conf. c. 5. p. 171.
Autor vindic. 7. 3. pag. 203.
Althus. de polit. c. 14. pag. 142.
G 161. Dares. de polit. Christiana, l. 6. c. 3.
P. 413.
1. Reason.

The inferiour
should never
rise against his
superiour.

Optat. de schis
Donat. l. 3, p. 85.

1 Pet. 2. 13.

Inferiour Ma-
gistrates in re-
spect of the
King, are but
private men.

2. Reason.

Aquinas; that the *inferiours* should rise up against their *superiour*, which hath the *rule* and command over them, as the *husband* hath over the wife, the *father* over the sonne, the *Lord* over his servants, and the *King* over his subjects; and therefore *Jezabel* might truly say, *Had Zimri peace which slew his Master?* And I may as truly say of these men, as *Optatus* saith of the *Donatists*, when as none is *above* the King or the Emperour, but onely God which made him Emperour, while the *inferiour* Magistrates doe extoll themselves above him; they have now exceeded the bounds of *men*, that they might esteeme themselves as God; *Non verendo eum, qui post Deum ab hominibus timebatur*, in not fearing him which men ought to feare next to God.

But the words of Saint *Peter* are plaine enough, *Submit yourselves unto every ordinance of man for the Lords sake, whether it be unto the King as supream, or unto Governours as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evill doers, and for the prayse of them that doe well.* Wherein you may see not onely the *subordination* which God hath placed betwixt the King and his *Subjects*, but also that *different* station which is betwixt the *supream* and the *inferiour* powers: for the words *sent of him*, doe most *clearly* conclude, that the *inferiour* Magistrates have *no* power to command, but by the *vertue*, power, and force which they receive from the *supream*; and that the *inferiour* Magistrates opposed to the *supream* power, are but as *private* men: and therefore, that as they are *rulers* of the people, so, being but instruments unto the King, they are *subjects* unto him, to be *moved* and ruled by him, which is *inferiour* to none but God; and their *authority*, which they have received from him, can have no power *upon* him, or to mannage the sword *without* him, and especially *against* him upon any *pretence* whatsoever: how then can *any*. or *all* these Magistrates make a *just* warre *against* their King, when as none of them can make any *just* warre *without* him?

2. Because, as *Bodinus* saith most truly, the *best* and greatest, not only of the *inferiour* Magistrates, but also of all these *Peeres*, *Nobles*, *Counsellors*, or what you please to call them, have nei-
ther

ther
them
you se
made
and as
chiefe
them
them
make
theref
Peere
Kings
yet w
livere
confe
or rel
they
and t
fuit p
the h
Bu
not g
them
haber
haber
ately
ned t
of pa
and
faith,
and g
Gent
Israe
By m
Jewe
firme
And

ther honour, power, nor authority, but what they have given them from him, which is the King or supreame Magistrate; as you see, God made *Moses* the chiefe Governour, and *Moses* made whom he pleased his Peeres, and his inferiour Magistrates: and as they have all their power derived from him that is the chiefe, so he that is the King or chiefe can draw it away from them that are his inferiours, when he pleaseth; and as he made them, so he can unmake them when he will, and none can unmake him but he that made him, that is, God himselfe; and therefore *David*, that was *Ex optimatibus regni*, the greatest Peere in *Israel*, being powerfull in warre, famous in peace, the Kings sonne in law and divinely destinated unto the Kingdome, yet would he not lay his hand upon his King, when he was delivered into his hands. And this *Buchanan* cannot deny, but confesseth, that the Kings of the *Jewes* were not to be punished or resisted by their subjects, because that from the beginning they were not created by the people, but given to them by God; and therefore (saith he) *jure optimo, qui fuit honoris autor, idem fuit poenarum exactor*, it is great reason, that hee which gives the honour, should impose the punishment. *Buchanans ab. surdi y.*

But for the Kings of Scotland, they were (saith *Buchanan*) not given them of God, but created by the people, which gave them all the right that they can challenge; *Ideoque jus idem habere in reges multitudinem, quod illi in singulos è multitudine habent*; which is most false: for *Moses* tells us, that immediately after the deluge, God, the Creator of all the world, ordained the revenging sword of bloudshed, and the slavish servitude of paternall derision, wherein all the parts of civill jurisdiction and regall power, are Synecdochically set downe: and *Iob* saith, that there is one God, which looseth the bond of Kings, *Job 12. 58.* and girdeth about their reynes: which must be understood of the Gentile Kings, because that in his time the Common-wealth of *Israel* was not in being; and God himselfe universally saith, *By me Kings doe reigne*, that is, all Kings; not onely of the *Jewes*, but also of the *Gentiles*: and *Christ* doth positively affirme, that the power of *Pilate* was given him from Heaven. And *Saint Paul* saith, *There is no power but what is appointed of God.*

That God is
the ordainer of
all Kings.

Aug. de Civit.
Des, l. 4. c. 33.

God the imme-
diate author of
Monarchie.

God. And *Tertullian* saith, *Inde & Imperator, unde & homo, inde illi potestas unde & spiritus*; he that made him a *man* made him *Emperour*, and he that gave him his *spirit* gave him his *power*. And *Irenæus* saith, God ordained *earthly Kingdomes* for the benefit of the *Gentiles*, *Et cujus jussu homines nascuntur, illius jussu reges constituuntur*; and by whose command *men* are borne, by his command *Kings* are made. And *S. Augustine* more plainly and more fully saith, God alone is the giver of all *earthly Kingdomes*, which hee giveth both to the *good* and to the *bad*; neither doth he the same *rashly*, and as it were by chance, because he is God, but as he seeth good, *Pro rerum ordine ac tempore*, in respect of the *order* of things and times, which are *hid* from us, but best knowne unto himselfe: and whosoever looketh backe to the *originall* of all governments, he shall finde that God was the *immediate* author of the *Regall* power, and but the *allower* and confirmer of the *Aristocraticall*, and all other formes of government; which the *people* erected, and the *Lord* permitted, lest the execution of *judgement* should become a transgression of *justice*; for as *Homer* saith,

Ἀυτὰρ ἐγὼν οἴκοιο ἀναξ ἔσσι' ἡμετέροιο.

Homer. *odyss. α.*
Aristot. Polit.
l. 1. c. 8.

Iustin. l. 1.

Jerem. 43. 10.
Esay 45. 1.

And *Aristotle* tells us, that the *Regall* power belonged to the *father* of the family, who, in the infancy of the world was so *grandevous* and long-lived, that he begat such a *numerous* posterity, as might well people a *whole Nation*, as *Cain* for his owne *Colonie* built a *Citie*, and was aswell the *King* as the *father* of all the *Inhabitants*; and therefore *Iustin* saith very well, that *Principio rerum gentium nationumque imperium penes reges erat*, the rule of all *Nations* was in the hands of *Kings* from the *beginning*; and the *Kingly right* pertaining to the *father* of the family, the *people* had no more *possibility* in right to choose their *Kings*, then to choose their *Fathers*: and to make it appeare unto *all Nations*, that not onely the *Kings of Israel*, but all other *Heathen Kings* are acknowledged by God himselfe to be of *divine* institution, he calleth *Nebuchadnezzar* his servant, and *Cyrus* his annointed.

And therefore though I doe not wonder that *ignorant* fellows

lowes should be so *impudent*, as to affirme *The King or kingly Government to be the ordinance or creation, or creature of man*; and to say, that the *Apottle supposeth* the same, because he saith, *Submit your selves to every ordinance of man for the Lords sake, whether it be unto the King, &c.* whereas he might well understand, that the *same act* is oftentimes ascribed aswell to the *mediate* as to the *immediate* agent, as *Samuels* anointing of *Saul* and *David* Kings, denyeth not but that God was the *immediate* giver of their Kingdomes, and the *Author* of that *regall* power; for God annointed *Saul Captaine over his inheritance*, and by the mouth of *Nathan* he telleth *David*, that he annointed him *King over Israel*: and *Solomon* acknowledgeth, that the Lord had set him on the Seate of his father *David*: and *Abija* in the person of God saith unto *Jeroboam*, *I will give the Kingdome unto thee*; and yet it is said, that all the people went to *Gilgal*, and made *Saul King before the Lord*; and the men of *Juda* annointed *David King of Iuda*; and *Zadok* the Priest and *Nathan* the Prophet annointed *Solomon King*; that is, God annointed them as Master of the *substance*, and gave unto them *regall* power, in whom is all power *primario & per se*; and the Prophets annointed them as Masters of the *Ceremony*, and declared that God had given them that power. And therefore the power and authority of Kings is *originally* and *primarily* (as *S. Paul* saith) the *ordinance of God*; and *secondarily* or *demonstratively*, it is as *S. Peter* calleth it, the *ordinance of man*: when the people, whose power is onely derivatively, makes them Kings, not by giving unto them the *right* of their Kingdomes, but by receiving them into the *possession* of their right, and admitting them to *exercise* their *royall* authority over them, which is given them of God, and therefore ought not to be withstood by any man.

And this *Anti Cavalier* might further see, that *Saint Peter* meaneth not, that the King is the *creature* of man, or his office of mans Creation; but that the *Lawes* and commands of Kings, though they be but the *commands* and ordinances of man, yet are we to *obey* the same for the *Lords sake*, because the Lord commandeth, that *Every soule should be subject to the higher*

H

powers:

Io. Goodwin in
his Pamphlet
of Anti-Cava-
liersme, p. 5.

1 Sam. 10.

2 Sam. 12.

1 Reg. 2.

1 Reg. 11.

1 Sam. 11. 15.

2 Sam. 5.

Constituere re-
gem est facere,
ut regiam po-
testatem exer-
ceret. Pineda
de reb. Solom.
c. 2.

*Pareus in Rom.
c. 13. p. 13 27.*

powers : Or if this will not *satisfie* him , because the *Greeke* word is not so plaine for this, as the *English* , yet let him looke into *Pareus* that was no friend to *Monarchy*, and he shall finde that he doth by seaven speciall *reasons* prove, that the *authority* of Kings is primarily the *ordinance* of God ; and he quoteth these places of Scripture to confirme it : *Prov. 8. 15. 2 Chron. 19. 6. Psal. 81. 6. Ioh. 10. 34. Gen. 9. 6. 1 Sam. 15. 1 King. 12. 2 King. 9. Dan. 2. 21. Iob 34. 30. Eccles. 10. 8.* and to this very *objection* he answereth , that the Apostle calleth the Magistrate *κλιον ἀνθρωπίνον*, an *humane* ordination or creation ; not *causally*, because it is invented by man , and brought up onely by the will of men ; but *subjectively*, because it is borne and executed by men ; and *objectively*, because it is used about the government of humane society : and *τελικῶς* in respect of the end, because it is ordained of God for the good and conservation of humane kinde ; and he saith further, that *κλίσεως* *appellatio*, the *Greeke* word *κλιος*, *ad Deum primum autorem nos revocat*, sheweth plainly, that God is the *first* author of it ; for though the Magistrate, in some *sence* as I shewed, may be said to be *created*, that is, ordained by men, yet God alone is the *first* creator of them ; as *Aaron*, though he was ordained the high Priest by *Moses*, yet the Apostle tells us, *None taketh this office upon him, but he that is called of God, as Aaron was.*

Yet I doe admire, that *Buchanan*, or any other man of learning, to satisfie the *people*, or his owne peevish *opinion*, will so *absurdly* deny so *divine*, and so well knowne verity, and say, that *any* Kings have their Kingdomes, and not from God : so flatly contrary to all Scripture.

CHAP. VII.

Sheweth the reasons and the examples that are alleadged to justify Rebellion, and a full answer to each of them: God the immediate author of Monarchy: inferiour Magistrates have no power but what is derived from the superiour; and the ill successe of all rebellious resisting of our Kings.

BUT to prove their *absurdities*, they still alleadge, that the *inferiour Magistrates*, as the *Peeres* and *Counsellours* of *Kings*, and the chiefe *heads* of all the people, which are *flos & medulla regni*; are therefore *added* unto the *superiour Magistrate*, both to be his *helpers* in the government, and also to *refraine* his licentiousnesse, and to *hinder* his impieties, if he *degenerate* to be an *Idolater*, or a *Tyrant*.

And to confirme this tenet, they produce many *examples* both out of the *sacred* and *prophane* Histories; as the *Judges* that rose up against their neighbour *Tyrants*; *Ezechias* against the King of *Assyria*; the people withstanding *Saul* that hee should not slay *Jonathan*; *Abikam* defending the Prophet *Jeremy* against King *Iehoiakim*; the revolting of the ten *Tribes* in the time of *Rehoboam*; the *Priests* and *Princes* of *Juda* taking away *Athalia*; the *Macchabees* arming themselves against *Antiochus*, and others of the *Macedonian* *Tyrants*; *Thrasibulus* driving the thirty *Tyrants* out of *Athens*; the *Romans* expelling their flagitious *Kings*, *Consuls*, and other *Tyrants*, that behaved themselves most wickedly, out of *Rome*; and so many *Peeres* and *Potentates* of other Kingdomes, that in the like cases did the like. To all which I answer,

1. That it is most *false* that any *Peere*, or *inferiour Potentate*, *Magistrate*, or other, is appointed by God to be the *associate* of the King, or *supreame Governour* for the government of the people; for as *God*, and not the *people*, appointed *Moses*, *Ioshua*, *Gideon*, and the other *supreame Judges* of *Israel*; so *Moses*, and not *God*, immediately as he did the others, appointed

The allegations to justify Rebellion.

1. By Reasons

2. By Examples.

Jerem. 26. 24.

Sol.

1. Their Reasons answered.

To what end
Kings doe
choose their
inferiour Ma-
gistrates.

All the inferi-
our Magistrates
must doe all in
the name of the
superiour.

Hab. 7 7.

ted the *Rulers* of tens, fifties, hundreds, and thousands, which alwayes acknowledged themselves his *subjects*, and not his *associates* in the government of the people. And so *other* Kings and Princes have alwayes *chosen* whom they pleased to be their Peeres, Counsellors, and inferiour Magistrates, as well to *beare* some part of their burthen (as *Iethro* saith unto *Moses*) and to *lessen* their care, as also to afford them their best *assistance* and counsell in the discussion and determination of *great* and difficult affaires; but not for them to *prescribe* and set downe *lawes*, orders, and ordinances, that should either *moderate* their royall liberty, or *bridle* and revenge what they conceive to be *Idol- latri* or Tyranny. I am sure *no King* that did intend to be a Tyrant, would choose *Counsellours*, or make Magistrates to that end; but they make choyce of them (as I said) to *further* them, and not to *hinder* them to effect those things which they conceive to be most *fit* and just; for the Magistrates that are *over* the people are *under* the King, and doe *all*, as you see, in the *name* of the King, from whom they *derive* all the power that they have; whereby it followeth, that neither the *people* can resist the Magistrates whom the King appointeth, nor *those* Magistrates resist their King, without apparent *sacriledge* against God; because the *greater* can never be judged nor condemned by the *lesser*; but, as the Apostle saith of *Abraham* and *Melchisedech*, that *without contradiction, the lesse is blessed of the better*; so I say, that without all controverſie, the *inferiour* must be alwayes judged of the *superiour*; and therefore if these Peeres, Nobles, or inferiour Magistrates, have *any* wayes any power or authority *over* their Kings, we must conclude against *S. Peter*, that these are *above* the King, and so *they* and not the *King*, are the *supereminent* power.

But we finde no such *power* nor *commandement* that they have from God to *refraine* Kings, in all the holy Scriptures; *Et si mandatum non est presumptio est, & ad pœnam proficiet, non ad premium*: and if there be no *commandement* for it, it is *presumption* to doe it, which deserveth *punishment* and not *praise*; because it is to the *reproach* of the Creator, that contemning the *Lord*, we should worship the *Servant*; and neglecting the *Em- perour*,

perour, we should adore or magnifie his *Peeres*; as Saint *Augustine* saith.

And therefore both the learned and religious *Fathers*, and the *best* of our later Writers, are flat against this Doctrine, that any sort of men have any power over *Kings*, but he that is the *King of Kings*, as you may see; what would be too tedious for me to set downe, in *Iohan. Bodinus Apol. pro Regibus, c. 27. & de Repub. l. 2. c. 5. Barclaius contra Monarchom. l. 3. c. 6. Berchetus in explicat. controvers. Gallicar. c. 2. Saravia de imperator. autorit. l. 2 c. 36. Sigon. de repub. Hebraeor. l. 7 c. 3. Bilo son. de perpet. Eccles. gubernat. c. 7. Pet. Gregor. Tholos. de republ. l. 5. c. 3. num. 14, 15, 16. and many more.* And the Homilie of the Church of England, against wilfull rebellion.

2. For the *examples* that are produced to countenance *Rebels* against their *Kings*, I answer, that they are *unlike*, or of some *peculiar* fact, or *unjust*, and therefore no warrant for any other to doe the *like*; when as we are to live by the *lawes* and precepts of God, and not by the *examples* of men; which many times, contrary to equity, do induce us to transgresse the *divine* verity: but to runne over the particulars of their examples as brieft as I can.

1. I say, that to conclude an *ordinary* rule from the doings of the *Judges*, which were *extraordinarily* commanded by God to be done, is no more *lawfull* for us to doe, then it is for us to rob our neighbours, because the *Israelites* robb'd the *Egyptians*: as Saint *Augustine* sheweth. 1. Example answered. *August. in Jud. c. 20.*

And therefore *Aquinas* (if *Aquinas* be the Author of that booke, *De Regimine Princip.*) saith excellent well; *Quibusdam visum est*, it seemes to some men, that it pertaineth to the honour of *valiant* and heroicall men, to take away a *Tyrant*, and to expose themselves to the perill and danger of death, for the *liberty* and freedome of the multitude; whereof they have an *example* in the Old Testament, where *Ehud* killed *Eglon*: *Judg. 3. 21.* But this agreeth not with the *Apostolicall* Doctrine, for Saint *Peter* teacheth us to be *subject*, not onely to the good, but also to the froward, because this is thanke worthy with God, if for conscience sake we patiently suffer wrongs: therefore when many of the *Romane* Emperours did most *tyrannically* persecute the

*Thom. de Regi-
mine Princip.
l. 1. c. 6.*

A great deale
of difference
betwixt a law-
full King, and
an Usurper.

2. Example an-
swered,

An impertinent
example.

The absurdity
of their repli-
cation.

*Quia dare ab-
surdum, non est
solvere argu-
mentum.*

faith of Christ, and a great and mighty multitude both of the Nobility, Gentry, and Commons, were converted unto Christianity; they are praised not for *resisting*, but for *suffering* death. Besides, *Eglon* was not the *lawfull* King of *Israel*, but an *alien*, an usurper, and a scourge to punish them for their sin; and therefore no *patterne* for others to *rebell* against their *lawfull* King.

2. For the example of *Ezechias*, rebelling against the King of *Assyria*; it is most impertinently alleadged, for *Ezechias* was the *lawfull* King of *Juda*, and the King of *Assyria* had no *right* at all in his Dominions; but being greedily desirous to enlarge his territories, he *incroached* upon the others *right*, and for his *injustice*, was overcome by the sword in a *just* battell: and therefore to conclude from hence, that because the King of *Juda* refused to obey the King of *Assyria*, therefore the inferiour Magistrates or Peeres of any Kingdome may *resist* and remove their *lawfull* Prince for his tyranny or impiety; surely this deserves rather *Fustibus retundi, quam rationibus refelli*; to be beaten with rods, then confuted with reasons: as Saint *Bernard* speaketh of the like Argument.

And whereas they *reply*, that it skilleth not whether the Tyrant be *forreine*, as *Eglon*, and the King of *Assyria* were; or *domestique*, as *Saul*, *Achab*, and *Manasses* were; because the *domestique* is worse then the *forreigne*, and therefore the rather to be suppressed. I will shew you the *validity* of this argument by the like; the *seditions* Preachers are the generation of vipers, nay, farre worse then vipers, because they hurt but the body onely, and these are pernicious both to body and soule; therefore as a man may *lawfully* kill a *viper*, so hee may more *lawfully* kill any *seditions* Preacher.

But to omit their *absurdity*, let us looke into the comparifon betwixt *domestique* and *extranean* Tyrants; and we shall finde, that *domestique* Tyrants are *lawfully* placed over us by God, who commandeth us to *obey them*, and forbiddeth us to *resist* them in every place; for the Scripture makes no distinction betwixt a *good* Prince and a Tyrant, in respect of the *honour*, reverence, and obedience, that we owe unto our superiours; as you see the

the Lord doth not say, touch not a *good* King, and obey *righteous* Princes; but as God saith, *Honour thy father and thy mother*, be they *good* or *bad*: so he saith, *Touch not the King, resist not your Governours*, *speake not evill of the Rulers*, be they *good*, or be they *bad*; and therefore Saint Paul, when he was strictly charged for revileing the *wicked* high Priest, answered *wisely*, *I wist not, brethren, that he was Gods high Priest*; for if I had knowne him to be the *true* high Priest, I would not have spoken what I did, because I know the *Law* of God obligeth me to be *obedient* to him that God hath placed over me, be he *good* or *bad*; for it is Gods *institution*, and not the Governours *condition* that tyeth me to mine obedience: so you see the minde of the Apostle, he knew the Priesthood was *abolished*, and that he was not the *lawfull* high Priest, therefore he saith, *God shall smite thee thou whited wall*: But if hee had knowne and beleevd him to be the *true* and *lawfull* high Priest which God had placed over him, he would *never* have said so, had the Priest beene never so *wicked*; because the Law saith, *Thou shalt not revile thy Ruler*: but for *private* robbers, or *forreigne* Tyrants, God hath not placed them *over* us, nor commanded us to *obey* them; neither have they any *right* by any law, but the law of *strength*, to exact any thing from us; and therefore we are obliged by *no* law to yeeld *obedience* unto them, neither are we hindered by *any necessity*, either of *rule* or *subjection*, but that we may *lawfully* repell all the injuries that they offer unto us.

Bad Kings to be obeyed, as well as the good.

3. For the peoples hindering of King *Saul* to put his sonne *Jonathan* to death; I say, that they freed him from his fathers vow, *non armis, sed precibus*, not with their *weapons* but by their *prayers*, when they appealed unto himsele and his owne conscience before the living God; and perswaded him, that setting aside his *rash* vow, he would have regard unto *justice*, and consider whether it was *right*, that he should suffer the *least* dammage, who, following God, had wrought so *great* a deliverance unto the people, as *Tremelius* and *Iunius* in their Annotations doe observe. And Saint Gregory saith, *The people freed Jonathan that he should not die, when the King, overcome*

3. Example answered.

Saul was contented to bee perswaded to spare his son.

Gregor. in 1 Reg. 4.

by

by the instance of the people, spared his life: which no doubt, he was not very earnest to take away from so good a sonne.

4. Example answered.

Jerem. 26. 24.

The act of *Ahikam* no colour for Rebellion.

4. Touching *Ahikam*, that was a prime Magistrate under King *Iehoiakim*, I say that he defended the Prophet, not from the tyranny of the King, but from the fury of the people; for so the Text saith, *The hand of Ahikam*, that is, (saith *Tremelius*) the authority and the helpe of *Ahikam* was with *Ieremy*, that *They*, that is, his enemies, should not give him into the hands of the people which sought his life, to put him to death; because *Ahikam* had beene a long while Counsellour unto the King, and was therefore very powerfull in credit and authority with him: And you know there is a great deale of difference betwixt the refraining of a tumultuous people by the authority of the King, and a tumultuous insurrection against the King; that was the part of a good man and a faithfull Magistrate, as *Ahikam* did; this of an enemy and a false Traytor, as the opposer of Kings use to doe.

5. Example answered.

2 Chron. 21.

2 Reg. 14. 19.

Actions commanded to be done, are not to be imitated by us, unlesse we be sure of the like commandement.

5. For the defection and revolting of the ten Tribes from *Rehoboam* their owne naturall lawfull King, unto a fugitive, and a man of a servile condition; and for the *Edomites*, *Lybnites*, and others, that revolted against King *Ioram*, and that conspiracy which was made in *Ierusalem* against *Amazia*; I answer briefly, that the Scriptures doe herein (as they doe in many other places) set downe, *Rei gesta veritatem, non facti equitatem*, the truth of things how they were done, not the equity of the things that they were rightly done: and therefore, *Non ideo quia factum legimus faciendum credamus, ne violemus præceptum dum sectamur exemplum*; we must not beleieve it ought to be done, because we reade that it was done, lest we violate the commandement of God by following the example of men, as Saint *Augustine* speaketh: for though *Ioseph* Iware by the life of *Pharaoh*, the *Midwives* lyed unto the King, and the *Israelites* robb'd the *Egyptians*, and sinned not therein, yet we have no warrant without sinne to follow their examples. Besides, God himselfe had fore-told the defection of the ten Tribes for the sinne of *Solomon*; and he being Lord proprietary of all, his donation transferreth a full right to him, on whom he

he be
warne
God c
obedi
mande
the eig
done i
of God
of God
the fea
to this
God b
and pa
excuse
any rig
that th
sent sal
after to
ample,
from t
lawful
often
pan in
lites th
excuse
of the
6.
that he
dome;
gion of
concou
his fact
wealth
affect t
7.
equity
surper

he bestowes it ; and this made *Shemaiah* the man of God, to God is the
 warne *Rehoboam* not to fight against his brethren : for as when right owner of
 God commanded *Abraham* to kill his sonne, it was a *laudable* all things, and
 obedience, and no *murther* to have done it ; and when he com- therefore may
 manded the *Israelites* to rob the *Egyptians*, it was no breach of justly dispose
 the eighth Commandement : so this *revolt* of these Tribes, if any Kingdome.
 done in *obedience* unto God, could be no *offence* against the law
 of God ; but because they regarded not so much the fulfilling
 of Gods *will*, as their not being *eased* of their grievances , and
 the fear of the weight of *Rehoboams* finger, which moved them
 to this *Rebellion*, I can no wayes justifie their action: and though
 God by this rent did most *justly* revenge the sinne of *Solomon*,
 and paid for the follie of *Rehoboam* ; yet this doth no wayes
excuse them for this *rebellion* , because they revolted not with
 any right aspect : and therefore it is worth our *observation* ,
 that the *consequences* which attended this defection was a *pre-*
sent falling away from the *true* God into Idolatry, and not *long*
 after to be led into an *endlesse* Captivity; which is a *fearefull* ex-
 ample, to see how *suddenly* men doe fall away from *God* , and
 from their *true* religion , after they have *rebelled* against their
lawfull King, and how to avoide *imaginary* grievance, they do
 often fall into a *reall* bondage , and so leape out of the frying
 pan into the fire. And for the *Edomites*, they were not *Israe-*
lites that led their lives by the law of God; neither can any man
 excuse the conspirators against *Amazia* from the transgression
 of the *law* of God.

6. For *Uzziah*, that was taken with a *grievous* sicknesse, so 6. Example an-
 that he could not be *present* at the *publique* affaires of the King- swered.
 dome ; I say, that according to the *law*, by reason of the *conta-*
gion of his disease, he was *rightly* removed from the Court and
 concourse of people, and his *sonne* in the meane time placed in
 his fathers steed , to *administer* and dispose the Common-
 wealth : but he in all that while, like a *good* sonne, did neither
 affect the *name*, nor assume the *title* of a King.

7. For the deposing of *Athalia*, I see nothing contrary to 7. Example an-
equity ; because she was not the *right* Prince, but an unjust U- swered.
surper of the Crowne : and therefore *Jehoida* the chiefe Priest,
 I having

having gathered together the principall Peeres of the Kingdome, and the Centurions, and the rest of the people, shewed them *the Kings sonne*, whom for six yeares space he had preserved alive from the rage and fury of *Atbalia*, which had slaine all the rest of the Kings seed; and when they saw him, they did all *acknowledge* him for the Kings sonne, they *crowned* him King, and he being crowned, they joyfully cryed, *God save the King*: and then by the *authority* of the new crowned King, that was the *right* heire unto the Kingdome, they put to death the *cruell* Queene, that had so *tyrannically* slaine the Kings children, and so *unjustly* usurped the Crowne all that while. And therefore to alleadge this example so *justly* done, to justifie an *insurrection* contrary to justice, doth carry but a *little* shew of reason. And I say the like of the *Macchabees* and *Antiochus*, that neither *he* nor any other *Macedonian* Tyrant had any *right* over them, but they were unjust *Usurpers*, that held the *Jewes* under them *in ore gladii*, with the edge of their swords, and were not their *lawfull* Kings whom they ought to obey; and therefore no reason, but that they might *justly* free themselves with their swords, that were kept in bondage by no other right then the *strength* of the sword.

8. Example answered.

Examples not to be imitated.

8. For the example of *Thrasibulus*, *Iunius Brutus*, and other *Romanes*, or whosoever, that for their faults have deposed their Kings; I answer with Saint *Augustine*, that *Exempla paucorum non sunt trahenda in legem universorum*; we have no warrant to imitate these *examples*: for though these things were *done*, yet we say, they were done by *Heathens* that knew not God, and *unjustly* done contrary to the *law* of God; and therefore with no *blessing* from God, with no good *success* unto themselves, and with *lesse* happinesse unto others; but it happened to *them* as to *all* others that doe the like, to expell a *mischiefe*, and to admit a *greater*; as, besides what I have shewed you before, this *one* most memorable example out of our owne Histories doth make it plaine.

The ill success of resisting our superiours.

In the time of *Richard* the second, the Nobility and Gentry murmured much against his government; in brief, they *deposed* him, and set the Crowne upon the head of the Duke of *Lancaster*,

fer, w
shop o
that th
posse
had no
but he
thers w
prison
ry; for
chiefes
never a
thoufar
2 were
27 Lor
421 El
farre gr
their la
mildene
And
lunce of
been be
ly to suff
prayers
it, in me
out of t
house (a
ent fishe
hard us
cruell bo
to bring
to any ha
mong th
they terr
the reme
the disea
bels in th
when th

ster, whom they created King, *Henry* the fourth. The good Bishop of *Carlile* made a bold and excellent Speech, to prove, that they could not by *any* law of God or man, *depose* and dispossesse their *lawfull* King: or if they *deposed* him, that they had no *right* to make the Duke of *Lancaster* to succeed him; but he *good* man for his paines was served as *Saint Paul* and others were many times for speaking the *truth*, committed to prison, and there was an *end* of him, but not an end of the story; for the *many* battels and bloudshed, the miseries and mischiefs that this one *unjust* and unfaithfull act produced, had never *any* period, never an end, till that well nigh a hundred thousand *English* men were slaine in civill warres; whereof 2 were Kings, 1 Prince, 10 Dukes, 3 Marquesses, 21 Earles, 27 Lords, 2 Viscounts, 1 Lord Prior, 1 Judge, 139 Knights, 421 Esquires, and Gentlemen of great and ancient Families a farre greater number; a *just* revenge for an *unjust* extrusion of their *lawfull* King, whose greatest *miserie* came from his great *mildenesse*.

Trussell in his Supplement to *Daniels* Historie.

And therefore these things being well *weighed* in the balance of the Sanctuary, in the scales of true wisdom, it had been *better* for them, as it will be for us, and all others, patiently to *suffer* the crosse that shall be laid upon us, untill that by our *prayers* we can prevaile with God, that for our *sinnes* hath sent it, in *mercy* to remove it, then for our selves to *pluck* our necks out of the collar; and in a froward *disobedience*, to pull the house (as *Sampson* did) upon our owne heads; and like *impatient* fishes, to leape out of the frying-pan into the fire, from hard *usage* that wee impatiently conceived, to most base and cruell *bondage* that we have deservedly merited; or at the *best*, to bring *many* men to many miseries, before we can attaine unto *any* happinesse: and so as the Poet saith in this very case among the *Romanes*, when for their *liberty* and priviledges, as they termed it, in *Pompeyes* time, *Excessit medicina modum*, the remedy that they *procured* hath proved farre worse then the disease they *suffered*; and I doubt not but ere long, the *Rebels* in this Kingdome will feelingly confesse this to be too true, when they shall more *deeply* taste of the like miseries, as they have

All the pressures that we have suffered since the first yeare of our King, are not comparable to the miseries that this one yeares civill warre hath brought upon us.

have brought, as well upon many of their *owne* friends, as *others*.

If you alleadge the time of *Richard* the third, how *soone* he was removed, and how *happily* it came to passe that *Henry* the seventh *succeeded*; I answer briefly, that *Richard* the third was not onely a *cruell* bloudy Tyrant, but he was also an *unjust* Usurper of the Crowne, and not the *right* King of *England*: and that there is a great deale of difference betwixt *rebelling* against our *lawfull* Kings which God hath *justly* placed over us, and *expelling* an usurping Tyrant, which hath *unjustly* intruded himselfe into the *royall* Throne: This God often hath *blessed*, as in the case of *Eglon*, *Athalia*, *Henry* the seventh, and many more, which you may obviously finde both in the *Greeke* and *Romane* stories; and the other hee alwayes *cursed*, and will plague it whensoever it is attempted.

Ob.

Goodwin in his
Anti-Cavalie-
ryme, p. 8.

After I had answered these Objections, I lighted upon *one* more, which is taken out of *2 King. 6. 32.* where the *Objector* saith, when *Ahab* sent a *Cavalier*, a man of bloud, to take away the Prophet *Elisha's* head, as he sate in his house among the *Elders*, did *Elisha* open his doore for him, and sit still till he tooke off his head in *obedience* to the King? No, he bestirred himselfe for the *safeguard* of his life, and called upon others to stand by him to assist him: and a little after he saith, *surely* he that went thus farre for the *safety* of his life, when he was but in danger to be *assaulted*, would have gone *further* if occasion had been; and in case the Kings *Butcher* had got in to him, before the doore had beene shut, if he had beene *able*, and had had no other meanes to have saved his *owne* head, but by taking away the *others*; there is *little* question to be made, but he would rather have *taken* then *given* a head in this case.

Sol.

The Ministers
of Christ should
not be the in-
cendiaries of
warre.

I answer, that who this *Goodwin* is, I know not; I could wish he were none of the Tribe of *Levi*: 1. Because I finde him such an *incendiary* of warre, and an *enemy* unto peace; whereas the *messengers* of Christ have this *Elogie* given them, *Quàm speciosi pedes Evangelizantium pacem?* And the Scripture saith, *Blessed are the Peace makers*; and we continually pray, *Give peace in our dayes, O Lord*: and therefore I can hardly

hardly beleeeve these *incendiaries* of warre to be the *sonnes* of the God of peace. 2. Because his *objection* is full of *falshoods* and false grounds : as,

1. He saith, that *Ahab* sent to take *Elisha's* head, when as *Ahab* was dead long before; it was his ghost therefore, and not he: but it was his *son*, and what then? what did the Prophet? he shut the doore, and desired the *Elders* to handle the messenger *roughly*, or hold him fast at the doore: Thus saith the text, 2 King. 6. 32. and the Prophet in my judgement doth herein but little more then what *God* and *nature* alloweth every man to doe, not to lay down his life, if he can *lawfully* preserve it; but as the Prophet did, to shut the doore; or as our Saviour saith, *When we are persecuted in one Citie, to flie into another, to save our lives as long as we can, and in all this I finde no violent resistance.* But 2. the Objector tells us, *Surely, if the messenger had got in, Elisha had taken off his head, rather then given his owne.* I demand, what *inspiration* he hath from God to be *sure* of this; for I am sure *John Baptist* would not doe so, nor *Saint Paul*, nor any other of Gods Saints, that I have read of; but these men are sure of every thing, even of Gods *secret* Counsell, and that is more then the *thoughts* of mens hearts; or, if this be *sure*, which I am not sure of, I answer, that *Elisha* was a great Prophet, that had the spirit of *Eliab* doubled upon him; and those *actions* which he did, or might have done, through the *inspiration* of Gods spirit; *this* man may not doe, except he be *sure* of the like inspiration; for God, who is *justice* it selfe, can command by *word*, as he did to *Abraham* to kill his sonne; or by *inspiration*, as he did to *Elias*, to call fire from Heaven, and it is a sinne to *disobey* it: whereas without this, it were an horrible sinne to doe it. And we must *distinguish* betwixt *rare* and extraordinary cases, that were mannaged by *speciall* commission from God; and those *patternes* that are confirmed by *knowne* and generall rules, which passe through the whole course of Scripture; and take heed, that we make not *obscure* Commentaries of humane wisdom, upon the *cleare* Text of holy Writ; *Quia maledicta glossa qua corrumpit textum.*

But indeed the place is plaine, that *Elisha* made no other resistance,

sistance, but what every man may lawfully doe, to keepe the messenger out of doores so long as he could; and yet this man would inferre hence, that we may *lawfully*, with a strong *hand*, and open *warre*, resist the *authority* of our *lawfull* Kings; a Doctrine, I am sure, that was never taught in the Schoole of Christ.

He makes some other objections, which I have already answered in this Treatise; and then he spends almost two leaves in six severall answers, that he maketh to an objection against the *examining* the equity or iniquity of the Kings commands, but to no purpose; because we never *deny*, but that in some cases, though not in all, (for there must be *Arcana imperii*, and there must be Privie Counsellours; and every Peasant must not *examine* all the Edicts of his Prince :) The commands of Kings may not onely be *examined*, but also *disobeyed*; as the three Children did the commands of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and the Apostles the commands of the high Priests: but though wee may *examine* their commands, and *disobey* them too, when they are contrary to the commands of God; yet I would faine know, where we have leave to resist them, and to take armes against them? I would he understood, there is a great deale of difference betwixt *examining* their commands, and *resisting* their authority; the one, in *some* cases we may; the other, by *no* meanes we may doe.

CHAP. VIII.

Sheweth, that our Parliament hath no power to make warre against our King: Two maine Objections answered: The originall of Parliaments: The power of the King to call a Parliament, to deny what he will, and to dissolve it when he will. Why our King suffereth?

BUt when all that hath beene spoken cannot *satisfie* their *indignation* against true obedience, and allay the heat of their

their *rebellious* spirits, they come to their *ultimum refugium*, best strength and strongest fort; that although *all others* should want sufficient right to *cross* the commands, and *resist* the violence of an unjust and tyrannicall Prince; yet the *Parliament*, that is the *representative* body of all his Kingdome, and are *intrusted* with the goods, estates, and lives of all his people, may *lawfully* resist, and when *necessity* requireth, take *armes* and subdue their most *lawfull* King; and this they labour to confirme by many arguments.

I answer, that for the *Parliament* of *England* it is beyond my sphere, and I being a *transmarine* member of this *Parliament* of *Ireland*, I will onely direct my speech to that whereof I am a *Peere*; and I hope I may the more boldly speake my minde to them, whereof I am a *member*; and I dare *maintaine* it, that it shall be a *benefit*, and no *prejudice*, both to King and Kingdome, that the *Spirituall* Lords have Votes in this our *Parliament*.

For, besides the *equity* of our sitting in *Parliament*, and our *indubitable* right to vote therein; (and his Majestie, (as I conceive, under favour be it spoken) is obliged by the very first act in *Magna Charta*, to preserve *that right* unto us) when as in the Summons of *Edw. I.* it is inserted in the Writ, that, * *Quod omnes tangit ab omnibus approbari, or tractari debet*, whatsoever affaire is of publique concernment, ought to receive publique approbation; and therefore with what *equity* can so *considerable* a party of this Kingdome, as are the *Clergy*, (who certainly cannot deserve to *forfeit* the priviledge of the meanest subjects, and of *common men*, because they are more immediately the servants of the *living God*) be denied the *benefit* of that, which in all mens judgement is so *reasonable* a law; and they *onely* be excluded from that interest, which is common unto *all*, I cannot see: yet I say, that besides this our *right*, while we sit in *Parliament* this *fruit* shall alwayes follow, that our *knowledge* and *conscience* shall never suffer us to vote *such* things against the truth, as to allow *that* power or priviledge to our *Parliament*, as to make *Orders* and *Ordinances* without the *consent*, and contrary to the *will* of our King, much *lesse* to leavie *moneyes* and raise *armes* against our King: for I conceive the

Priviledges

And whatsoever I speake of *Parliament* in all this Discourse, I meane of *Parliaments* disjoyned from their King, and understand onely the prevalent faction that ingroesse and captivate the Votes of many of the plaine honest minded party, which hath beene often seene both in generall Counsels, and the greatest *Parliaments*.
* *Claus 7. m. 3. dors.*

Priviledges of
Parliament,
what they are.

Priviledges of Parliament to be *Privata leges Parliamenti*, a proceeding according to certaine *rules*, and private customes and lawes of Parliament, which no member of the Houses ought to transcend; whereas the other is *Privatio legum*, a proceeding *without* Law, contrary to *all* rules, as if our Parliament had an omnipotent power, and were more *infallible* then the *Pope*, to make all their Votes *just*, and their sayings *truth*.

I, but to make this *assertion* good, that the Parliament in *some* cases may justly take armes, and make *warre* upon their *justest* King, if they conceive him to be *unjust*: it is alleadged, that although the King be *Singulis major*, greater then *any* one, yet he is *Universis minor*, lesse then *all*; therefore *all* may *oppose* him, if he refuse to consent unto them.

I answer, that the *weakenesse* of this argument is singularly
Pag. 11. & 38, well shewed in the *Answer to the Observations upon some of his*
39, 40. *Majesties late answers and expresses*; and I will briefly *contract*

1. Pet. 2. 13.

As Edw. Car-
raron, and
Richard the se-
cond,

the answer, to say, the King is better then *any* one, doth not prove him to be better then *two*; and if his Supremacy be no *more*, then many others may challenge as *much*: for the *Prince* is *Singulis major*, a Lord above *all* Knights, and a Knight above *all* Esquires; he is *singulis major*, though *universis minor*; and if the *King* be *universis minor*, then the *people* have placed a *King*, not *over*, but *under* them: And Saint *Peter* doth much mistake, in calling the King *Supream*; and they doe ill to *peti- tion*, when they might *command*: and I am confident, that no records (except of such Parliaments as have most *unjustly* de- posed their Kings) can shew us *one* example, that the Parlia- ment should have a *power*, which must of *necessity* over-rule the King, or make their Votes *Law*, without and *against* the will of the King; for if their Votes be *Law* without his consent, what need they *seeke* and *solicite* his consent?

That the King
is *universis ma-
jor*, greater
then *all*; pro-
ved;

But the clause in the Law made 2. *Hen. 5.* cited by his Ma- jestie, that it is of the Kings *regality* to *grant* or *deny* such of their Petitions as pleaseth himselfe, and the *power* which the Law gives the King to *dissolve* the Parliament; and especially the words in the *Preface* of cap. 12. *Vices* to *Hen. 8.* where the Kings Supremacy, not over *single* persons, but over *all* the
body

body
simply
velte
their
so the
ved to
man
King

2.
of the
ment
people
of the

I an
careful
now is
structi

as one
tors, a
is not

they a
Absol
hearts

primum
distem
thinke

are soo
heavy,
mise th

their a
up wit
and so

weaken
that th
themse

dome
But

body politique is clearly delivered, doth sufficiently shew the *simplicity* of this Sophistry, and prove that the King being invested with *all* the power of the people which is due to him as their King, he is the onely *fountaine* of all power and justice; so that now they can *justly* claime no power, but what is *deri-ved* from him; and therefore it is the more *intolerable*, that *any* man should *usurpe* the power of the King, to *destroy* the King.

God having gi-
ven, and the
people having
yeelded their
power to their
King: they can
never challenge
any power but
what they haue
derived from
their King.

2. They will say, that *Salus populi est suprema lex*, the good of the people is the *chiefest* thing that is aymed at in *all* govern-ment; and the Parliament is the *representative* body of *all* the people; therefore if any thing be *intended* contrary to the good of the people, they may and ought *lawfully* to resist the same.

2. Reason

I answer and confesse, that there is no *wise* King but will carefully provide for the *safety* of his people, because his *ho-nour* is included therein, and his *ruine* is involved in their de-struction; but it is certaine, that this *principle* hath beene used as one of our *Irish* mantles to hide the *rebellion* of many Tray-tors, and so abused, to the *confusion* of many Nations; for there is not scarce *any* thing more facile, then to *perswade* a people that *they are not well governed*; as you may see in the example of *Absolon*, who by abusing this *very* axiome, hath *stollen* away the hearts of many of his fathers subjects: for as *Lipsius* saith, *Pro-prium est agri nihil diu pati*, it is incident to *sicke* men, and so to distempered mindes, to indure nothing *long*, but foolishly to thinke every *change* to be a remedy; therefore the people that are *soone* perswaded to beleieve the *lightest* burthen to be *too* heavy, are easily led away by every seducing *Absolon*, who pro-mise them deliverance from *all* their *evils*, so they may have their assistance to effect their *ends*; and then the people swelled up with hopes, cry up those men as the *reformers* of the State; and so the *craft* and subtilty of the *one*, prevailing over the *weakenesse* and simplicity of the other, every Peere and Officer that they like not, must with *Teramines* be condemned, and *themselves* must have all preferments, or the King and King-dome must be lyable to be ruined.

Sol.

2 Sam. 15. 4.

How easy it is
to perswade the
people to rebell

But you will say, the *whole* Parliament cannot be thought to

Repl.

K

be

be thus *envious* against the officers of State ; or thus *carelesse* of the common good, as for any *sinister* end, to destroy the *happinesse* of the whole.

Sol.

How a faction
many times
prevaileth to
sway whole
Counsell and
Parliaments.

The originall
of Parliaments,
why they were
at first ordain-
ed.

See Io. Bodin.
de repub. l. 1. c.
8. pag. 95. in
English, and
the place is
worth the no-
ting.

I answer, that Parliaments are not alwayes guided by an *unerring* spirit, but as *Generall Counsels*, so whole Parliaments have beene repealed and declared null by succeeding Parliaments, as 21 *Rich. 2. c. 12.* all the Statutes made 11 *Rich. 2.* are disannulled: and this in the 21. *Rich. 2.* is totally repealed in 1. *Hen. 4. c. 3.* and 39. *Hen. 5.* we finde a totall repeale of a Parliament held at *Coventry* the yeare before, and the like: and the reason is, because many times by the hypocriticall craft of some faction, working upon the weakenesse of some, and the discontent of others; the worse part procuring most unto their party prevaileth against the better.

Besides all this, I conceive the *originall* of Parliaments was, as it is expressed in the Kings Writ, to consult with the King, *De quibusdam arduis, & urgentibus negotiis regni*; they being collected from *all* the parts of the Kingdome, can best *informe* His Majestie, what *grievances* are sprung, and what *reparations* may be made, and what other things may be concluded for the good of His Subjects in every part: and His Majestie to *informe* them of his *occasions* and necessities, which by their free and voluntary *Subsidies*, they are to supply both for his *honour* and their owne *defence*. In all this they have *no* power to *command* their King, no power to make *Laws* without their King, no right to *meete* without his Writ, no liberty to *stay* any longer then he gives leave; how then can you *meete*, as you doe now, in my Episcopall See at *Kilkenny*, and *continue* your Parliament there, to make *warre* against your lawfull King? What *colour* of reason have you to doe the same? you cannot pretend to be *above* your King; you have with *lyes* and *falsehoods* most wickedly *seduced* the whole Kingdome, and involved the same in a most unnaturall *civill* warre: you are the *actives*, the King is *passive*; you make the *offensive*, He the *defensive* war; for you began, and when he like a Gracious King still cryed for *peace*, you still made ready for *battell*.

And I doubt not but your selves know all this to be true, for
you

you
warre
you
trulles
of sub
verai
fore,
of the
all sub
jects
for th
their
men,
tors,
murder
and y
canno
fore a
and f
in the
Be
every
and
Peere
head
parate
that c
body
whol
teach
An
er to
havin
have
farre
confi
your

you know, that all Parliament men must have their *elections* warranted by the Kings *especiall* Writ; you will say, that so you were; well, and you were chosen but by *subjects*, and intrusted by them to represent the *affections*, and to act the *duties* of subjects; and *subjects* cannot impose a *rule* upon their *Soveraigne*, nor make any *ordinance* against their King; and therefore, if the *representative* body of subjects transcend the limits of their trust; and doe in the name of the subjects, that which *all* subjects cannot doe; and assume *that* power which the subjects neither *have*, nor can *conferre* upon them, I see no reason that any *subject* in the world should any wayes *approve* of their actions: for how can your *priviledge* of being Parliament men, *priviledge* you from being *Murderers*, *Theeves*, or *Traytors*, if you doe those things that the Law adjudgeth to be *murders*, *thefts*, and *treasons*? Your *elections* cannot quit you, and your *places* cannot excuse you; because *he* that is intrusted cannot doe *more* then *all* they that doe intrust him; and therefore all subjects should *desert* them, that *exceed* the conditions, and *falsifie* the trust which their fellow subjects have reposed in them.

The letter sent from a Gentleman to his friend.

That men intrusted should not go beyond their trust.

Besides, you know the King must needs be reputed *part* of every Parliament, when as the selected company of *Knights* and *Burgesses*, together with the *Spiritual* and *Temporall* Peeres, are the *representative* body, and the King is the *reall* head of the whole Kingdome; and therefore if the *body* separates it selfe from the *head*, it can be but an *uselesse* trunke, that can produce no *act*, which pertaineth to the *good* of the body: because the *spirits* that give life and motion to the whole body, are all *derived* from the head, as the Philosopher teacheth.

The King must needs be a part of every Parliament.

And further, you doe *all* know, that as the King hath a power to *call*, so he hath a power to *dissolve* all Parliaments; and having a power of *dissolving* it when hee *will*, he must needs have a power of *denying* what he *please*; because the other is farre greater then this. And therefore, all these *premises* well considered, it is apparent that your *sitting* in *Kilkenny* without your *King*, (or his Lieutenant, which is to the same purpose;)

The power of dissolving the Parliament, greater then the power of denying any thing.

and your *Votes* without his *assent*, are all *invalid* to exact obedience from any subject; and for my part, I deeme them *fooles* that will obey them, and *rebels* that will take armes against their King at your commands; and if you *persist* in this your *rebellious* obstinacie, I wish your *judgements* may light onely upon your *owne* heads: and that those, which like the followers of *Absolon*, are simply led by you, may have the *mist* taken from their eyes, that they may be able to discern the *duty* they owe unto their King, that they be not involved, and so *perish* in your sinne.

For, though you be never so *many*, and thinke that all the Kingdome, Townes, and Cities be for you; yet take heed lest
 Psal. 21. 11. you imagine such a *mischievous* device which you are not able to
 1. Reg. 22. 29. performe; for the involving of *well-meaning* men into your *bad* businesses, as *Jehoshaphat* was misled to warre against *Ramoth Gilead*, doth not onely bring a *punishment* upon them that are *seduced*, but a farre greater *plague* upon you that doe *seduce* them: and God, who hath at all times so exceeding graciously *defended* His Majestie; and contrary to your hopes and expectation, from almost nothing in the beginning of this *rebellion*, hath *increased* his power, to I hope an *invincible* Army, will be a *rocke* of defence unto his annointed; because it is well knowne to all the world, that whatsoever this good King hath *suffered* at the hands of his subjects, it is for the preservation of the true Protestant Religion, of the established Lawes of his Kingdomes, and of those *Reverend* Bishops, *Grave* Doctors, and all the rest of the *Learned* and Religious Clergy, that have ever maintained, and will to the spilling of the *last* drop of their blood, *defend* this truth against all *Papists*, and other *Anabaptisticall Brownists* and *Sectaries* whatsoever.

For what causes the King suffereth.

What a shame it is to use the power we have received against him that gave it us.

And therefore if you that are his *Parliament*, should, like *unthankfull* vapours, that cloud the *Sunne* which raised them; or like the *Moone* in her interposition, that obscures the glorious *lampe* which inlightens her, in the *least* manner imploy *that* strength, which you have received from His Majestie when he called you together, *against* His Majestie, it will be an *ugly* spot and a *foule* blemish, both for your *selves* and all your *posterities*;

posterities; and if not *suddenly* prevented, you may *raise* such spirits that your selves cannot *lay* downe; and *some* such seeds of *discord* and discontent betwixt the *King* and his *people*, as may derive through the whole *Race* of all succeeding *Kings*, such a *disaffection* to *Parliaments*, as may prove a *plague* and poyson to the whole *Kingdome*. For if the *King* out of his *favour* and grace call you together, and *intrust* you with a power either of continuing, concluding, or enacting such things, as may be for the *good* of the *Common-wealth*; & you *abuse* that power *against* him that gave it you: I must needs confesse that I am of *his* minde, who saith, that the *King* were *freed* before God and man from *all* blame, though he should use all possible *lawfull* means to withdraw that power into his own hands; which being but lent them, hath bin so misapplied against *him*: for if my servant desireth to hold my *sword*, and when I *intrust* him with it, he seekes to *thrust* the same into my *breast*, will not every man judge it *lawfull* for me to *gaine* my sword, if it be possible, out of his hand, and with that sword to cut off his *head* that would have thrust it into my *heart*? or, as one saith, if I convey my estate in *trust* to any friend, to the *use* of me and mine, and the person *intrusted* falsifie the *faith* reposed in him, by conveying the *profits* of my estate to *other* ends, to the prejudice of me and mine, no man will thinke it *unlawfull* for me to *annihilate* (if I can possibly doe it) such a deed of trust.

And therefore Noble Peeres and Gentlemen of this ancient *Kingdome* of *Ireland*, that your *Parliament* may prove *successfull* to the benefit of the *Common wealth*; let me, that have some *interest* and charge over all the *Inhabitants* and *Sojourners* of *Kilkenny*, perswade you to thinke your selves *no Parliament* without your *King*; and that your *Votes* and *Ordinances*, carrying with them the *power*, though not the *name* of *Acts* of *Parliament*, to oblige both *King* and *Subjects* to obey them, are the most absolute *subversion* of our fundamentall *Lawes*, the destructive *invasion* of our rightfull *Liberties*: and that by an *usurped* power of an *arbitrary* rule, to dispose of our *estates*, or any part thereof as you please, to make us *Delinquents* when you will, and to punish us as *Malignants* at your pleasure; and

That it is lawfull to recall a power given, when it is abused.

through your discontent to dispossesse your *rightfull King*, though it were to set the Crowne upon the head of your greatest *Oneale*, is such a priviledge, that never *any* Parliament hath yet claimed. Or if you *still* goe on for the enlargement of your own *usurped* power under the title of the *priviledge* of Parliament, to Vote the *diminution* of the Kings *just* prerogative, that your Progenitors never denied to any of his Ancestors, to *exclude* us Bishops out of your Assemblies, without whom your determinations can never be so well concluded in the feare of God, and to *invade* the Liberties of your fellow subjects, under the pretences of *religion*, and the *publique good*: I will say no more, but turne my selfe to God, and put it in my *Lyturgie*, from *Parasites*, *Puritanes*, *Popes*, and such *Parliaments*, *Good Lord deliver us*.

CHAP. IX.

Sheweth the unanimous consent and testimonies of many famous learned men and Martyrs, both ancient and moderne, that have confirmed and justified the truth of the former Doctrine.

AND so you see, that as for no *cause*, so for no *kinde* or degree of men, be they what you will; Peeres, Magistrates, Heads of Families, Darlings of the people, or any other Patriots, whom the *Commons* shall elect, it is lawfull to *rebell against*, or any wayes to *resist* our chiefe Princes and soveraigne Governours. This point is as *cleare* as the Sunne; and yet to make it still more cleare unto them, that will not beleieve that truth which they like not; but, as *Tertullian* saith, *Credunt Scripturis, ut credant adversus Scripturas*, doe alleadge Scriptures to justify their owne wilfull opinions, against all Scriptures; I will here adde a few testimonies of most famous men to confirme the same.

Henry de Bracton, Lord Chiefe Justice of the Kings Bench,
under

under *Hen. 3.* saith, as he is quoted by the Lord *Elismer*, that under the King there are *free men and servants*, and every man is under him, and he is under none but *onely God*: if any thing be demanded of the King, (seeing no *Writ* can issue forth against the King) there is a place for *Petition*, that he would correct and amend his fact; and if he shall *refuse* to doe it, he shall have punishment enough, when the Lord shall come to be his revenger; for otherwise, touching the *Charters* and deeds of Kings, neither *private persons*, nor *Justitiaries* ought to dispute; this was the *Law* of that time: what *new Lawes* our young Lawyers have found since, I know not: I am not so good a Lawyer.

L. Elismer in orat. habita in Camera Fiscali, anno 1609. pag. 108.

The *Civill* Lawyers do farre surpasse the *Common Law* herein; for, *Corsetus Siculus* saith, *Rex in suo regno potest omnia, imo de plenitudine potestatis.* And *Marginista* saith, *Qui disputat de potestate Principis, utrum bene fecerit est infamis.* *Hostiensis* saith, *Princeps solutus est legibus, [id est, quoad vim coactivam, non quoad vim directivam: Thom. 1. 2a. q. 96. ar. 5. ad 3.] quia nulli subest, nec ab aliis judicatur.* And to omit all the rest, *Gulielmus Barclaius* out of *Bartolus*, *Baldus*, *Castrensis*, *Romanus*, *Alexander*, *Felinus*, *Albericus*, and others, doth inferre, *Principem ex certâ scientiâ, supra jus, extra jus, & contra jus omnia posse; Principem solum legem constituere universalem. Princeps soli Deo rationem debet. Princeps solutus est legibus, & temerarium est velle, Majestatem Regiam ullis terminis limitare*: which things if I should English, *seditions* heads would thinke my head not sufficient to pay for this, but I onely repeat their words, and not justifie their sayings: and therefore to proceed to more familiar things.

Corsetus Sic. tract. de potestate reg. part. 3. num. 66.

Marginista in Angelum perusinum. c. 19.

iii. 29. De crimine sacrilegii, l. 2.

Hostiens. sum. l. 1. rubr. 32. de offic. legati.

Barclaius contra Monarchomach. l. 3. c. 14.

Pasquerius writeth, that *Lewis* the 11th did urge his *Senators* and *Connfellours* to set forth a certaine edict, which they refused to doe, because it seemed to them very *unjust*; and the King being very angry, threatned death unto them all: whereupon *Vacarius*, President of the Councell, and all the Senate in their *purple robes* came unto the King; and the King astonished therewith, demanded whence they came, and what they would have: *Vacarius* answered for all, we come to undergoe that death

Pasquer. de Antiquist. Gall. can. l. 1.

Sicut olim Lacedemonii, victoribus responderunt: si duriora morte imperetis, potius moriemur.

death which you have threatned unto us ; for you must know (O King) that we will rather suffer *death*, then doe any thing against our *conscience* towards God, or our *duty* towards you : Wherein we see the Nobility of this King, like Noble Christians, do more *willingly* offer to lay downe their *lives* at the command of their Liege Lord, then unchristianlike *rebell* and take Armes against their delinquent Sovereigne. And so *Colmanus* a godly Bishop did hinder the *Scottish* Nobility to rise against *Fercardus*, that was their most *wicked* King.

Tertull. ad Scapula.

Tertullian writing unto *Scapula* the President of *Carthage*, saith, we are *defamed* when the Christian is found to be the enemy of *no* man, no not of the *Emperour* ; whom because he knoweth him to be appointed by God, he must needs *love* and reverence, and wish him *safe* with all the *Romane* Empire ; for we honour and worship the Emperour as a man *second* from God, *Et solo Deo minorem*, and inferiour *onely* to God : And in his *Apologetico*, he saith, *Deus est solus in cuius solius potestate sunt reges, à quo sunt secundi, post quem primi, super omnes homines, ante omnes Deos* ; it is God *alone*, in whose power Kings are kept, which are *second* from him, *first* after him, *above* all men, and *before* all Gods ; that is, all other Magistrates that are called Gods.

Tertull. in Apologes.

Athanasius de summo regum imperio, q. 5. 5.

Athanasius saith, that as God is the King and Emperour in all the world, that doth exercise his *power* and authority over *all* things that are in Heaven and in Earth ; so the Prince and King is appointed by God over *all* earthly things : *Et ille liber à suâ voluntate facit quod vult, sicut ipse Deus* ; and the King by his owne free will doth whatsoever he pleaseth, even as God himselfe : and the *Civilians* could say but little more.

Simulachrum à similitudine dictum. Isidor.

Saint *Augustine* saith, *Videtis simulachrorum templa*, you see the temples of our Images, partly *fallen* for want of reparation, partly *destroyed*, partly *shut up*, partly *changed* to some other uses ; *ipsaque simulachra*, and those Images either *broken* to pieces, or *burned* and *destroyed* ; and those *Powers* and *Potentates* of this world, which sometimes *persecuted* the Christians, *pro istis simulachris*, for those Images to bee overcome and tamed ; *non à repugnantibus, sed à morientibus Christianis*,

Aug. ad frat.

Mad. ur. ep. 42.

not

not of resisting, but of dying Christians; and the rest of the Fathers are most plentiful in this theme: and therefore to the later Writers.

Cardinall *Alan* saith, (but herein most untruly) that the *Protestants* are desperate men, and most *factions*; for as long as they have their *Princes* and Lawes *indulgent* to their owne wills, they know well enough how to use the *prosperous* blasts of fortune; but if the *Princes* should *withstand* their desires, or the Lawes should be *contrary* to their mindes, then *presently* they break asunder the *bonds* of their fidelity, they despise *Majestie*, and with fire and sword, slaughters and destructions, they rage in every place, and do runne *headlong* into the *contempt* of all divine and humane things: which accusation, if it were *true*, then I confesse the *Protestants* were to be blamed more then *all* the people of the world; but, howsoever some *factions*, seditious, *anabaptisticall*, and rebellious spirits amongst us, not deserving the name of *Protestants*, may be *justly* taxed for this *intolerable* vice: yet, to let you see how *falsly* he doth accuse us, that are *true* *Protestants*, and how *fully* we doe agree with the *Scriptures* and the *Fathers* of the purest age of the Church, in the Doctrine of our *obedience* to our Kings and *Princes*; I will onely give you a *taste* of what we teach; and to begin with the first reformer.

Luther saith, no man which stirreth up the multitude to any tumult can be *excused* from his fault, though he should have never so *just* a cause; but he must goe to the *Magistrate*, and attempt nothing privately; because *all* *sedition* and insurrection is against the Commandement of God, which *forbiddeth* and detesteth the same.

Philip Melancthon saith, though it be the Law of Nature to expell force with force, yet it is no wayes *lawfull* for us to *withstand* the wrong done us by the *Magistrate* with any force; yea, though we seeme to promise our *obedience* upon this *condition*, if the *Magistrate* should command *lawfull* things; yet it is not therefore *lawfull* for us to withstand his *unjust* force with force: for though their *Empires* should be gotten and possess'd by *wicked* men, yet the worke of their government is

L

from

See the duty of Subjects: or a perswasion to Loyalty, which is a full collection of the Fathers to this purpose.

Card. Alan. in resp. ad Instr. Britannicam.

c. 4.

Sleidan. commentar. l. 5.

Melancthon ad Luther. 16. p. 463.

from God, and it is the good *creature* of God; and therefore, whatsoever the *Magistrate* doth, no *force* ought to be taken up against the *Magistrate*.

The rule of a
Prince may be
evill 2 wayes.

1.

Brentius saith, that the *rule* and government of a Prince may be evill two wayes.

1. When hee commandeth any thing *against* the faith of Christ; as, to *deny* our God, to worship *Idols*, and the like: and herein we must give place to the saying of the Apostle, *It is better to obey God then men*; but in *this case* the subject must in no way *rage* or rise against his *Magistrate*, but he should rather *patiently* suffer any *evill*, then any way *strike* againe; and rather endure any inconveniences and discommodities, then any wayes *obey* those ungodly commands.

2.

2. The Prince his government may be *evill*, when he doth, or commandeth any thing against the *publique* Justice; of which kinde are the *exaction* of our goods, or the *vexation* of our bodies; and in *these kindes* of injuries, the subject ought rather then in the former, to be *obedient* to his *Magistrate*; for if he steps forth to *armes*, God hath pronounced of such men, *Hee that smiteth with the sword shall perish with the sword*.

*Brentius in re
spon. ad artic.
iusticorum.*

Cranmer Archbishop of *Canterbury*, together with the rest of the Bishops, and most *famous* Divines of this Kingdome, saith, if Princes shall doe any thing *contrary* to their duties, God hath not appointed any *superiour* Judge over them in this world, but they are to render their *account* to God, which hath reserved their judgement to himselfe *alone*; and therefore it is not *lawfull* for any subjects, how *wicked* soever their Princes shall be, to take *armes*, or raise sedition against them, but they are to powre forth their *prayers* to God, in whose hand Kings *hearts* are, that he would *inlighten* them with his spirit; whereby they might *rightly*, to the glory of God, use that sword which he hath delivered unto them.

*Cranmer in
lib. de Christiani
hominis insti-
tut.*

Gulielmus Tindall, a godly *Martyr* of Christ, when Cardinall *Lanio's* sonne did leade the Lambes of Christ by troopes unto the slaughter, doth then describe the *duty* of subjects according to the *straight* rule of the Gospell; saying, *David* spared *Saul*, and if he had *killed* him, he had *sinned* against God; for

for in every Kingdome, the King, which hath no *superiour*, judgeth of *all* things; and therefore he that endeavoureth or intendeth *any mischief* or calamity against the *Prince* that is a Tyrant, or a Persecuter; or whosoever with a *froward* hand doth but *touch the Lords annointed*, he is a *rebell* against God, and resisteth the *ordinance* of God: as often as a *private* man sinneth, he is held obnoxious to his *King*, that can punish him for his offence; but when the *King* offendeth, he ought to be reserved to the *divine* examination and vengeance of God: and as it is not *lawfull* upon *any* pretence to resist the *King*, so it is not *law- Tindall. l. de*
full to rise up against the Kings *Officer*, or *Magistrate*, that is *Christians homi-*
sent by the King for the execution of those things which are *nis obedient.*
 commanded by the King: for, as our Saviour saith, *Hee that*
heareth you heareth me, and *he that despiseth you despiseth me*,
and he that despiseth me despiseth him that sent me; And as he
 saith unto *Saul* when he persecuted the *servants* of Christ,
Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? when as hee was then in *AA. 9. 4.*
Heaven, farre above the reach of *Saul*; yet, because there is
 such a *mysticall* union betwixt Christ and his Church, the head
 and members, as is betwixt man and wife; no man can be said to
 injure the *one*, but he must wrong the *other*: so whosoever re-
 sisteth the Kings *Lieutenant*, Deputy, or any other Magistrate,
 or Officer that he sendeth, with Commission to execute his
 commands, resisteth the *King* himselfe; and all the *indignities*
 that are offered to the Kings *Embassadour*, or servant, that he
thus sendeth, are deemed as indignities offered to the *King*
 himselfe; as we see the base usage of *Dauids* servants by King *2 Sam. 10.*
Hannun, *David* revenged as an abuse offered unto *himselfe*; be-
 cause the Kings person cannot be in *all* places, where justice
 and judgement, and many other offices and actions are *necessa-*
rily to be done throughout the *latitude* of his Dominions; but
 his *power* and his authority, deputed to those his servants and
 officers that he sendeth, are as the *lively* representatives of the
 King, in every part of his Kingdome; and whatsoever *favour*,
 payment, *neglect*, or abuse, is shewed unto any of them; the
same, in all Nations is accounted, and therefore *punished* or *re-*
warded, as a service done unto the *King* himselfe; as our Savi-
 our,

Whatsoever is
 done to any
 Messenger, is
 deemed as done
 to him that
 sent him.

our, when but the *Tol-gatherer* came for the Tribute-money, saith, *Give unto Caesar what belongeth unto Caesar.*

* S. Paul saith, God sendeth them strong delusions.

2 Thess. 2. 11. But what God sendeth justly as the punisher of their sin, the Devill sendeth maliciously, as the guider of them to Hell.

Barnesius in tract. de humanis constit.

And therefore it is but an *idle*, simple, and most foolish, frivolous distinction of men, to deceive children and fooles; to say they *love* and honour their *King*, and they *fight not* against their *King*, but against *such* and *such*, whom notwithstanding they know to be the Kings *chiefest officers*, and to be sent with the Kings *Power*, Commission, and Authority, to doe *those* things that they doe; this is such a foppery, that I know not what to say, to *undeceive* those that are so *desirous* to be deceived, when the Devill, * which knoweth how neare their destruction hangeth over their heads, sends them strong delusions, that they should so *easily* and so *silly* beleieve such *palpable* lyes, as to make them thinke, they love him *dearely* whom they murder most *barbarously*.

Barnesius, a very godly and learned man, treating of the *same* Argument, saith in a manner the same thing; that the servants of Christ, rather then either commit any *evill*, or resist any *Magistrate*, ought *patiently* to suffer the *losse* of their *goods*, and the *tearing* of their *members*; nay, the Christian after the *example* of his Master Christ, ought to suffer the bitterest *death* for truth and righteousness sake; and therefore (saith he) whosoever shall *rebell* under *pretence* of Religion, *eternæ damnationis reus erit*; he shall be found guilty of eternall damnation.

Master Dod upon the Commandements.

Master Dod saith, that where the Prince commandeth a *lawfull* act, the subjects must *obey*; and if he injoynes *unlawfull* commands, we must not *rebell*, but we must be content to beare *any* punishment that shal be laid upon us, even unto *death* it self; and we should suffer our punishment without *grudging*, even in heart: and this he presseth by the *example* of the Three Children, and of *Daniel* that was a *mighty* man, and of *very* great power in *Babylon*, yet never went about to gather any *power* against his King, though it were in his owne *defence*.

Master Byfield upon 1 Pet. 2. 23.

Master Byfield expounding the words of S. Peter, *ὡς ὑποταξάμενοι*, as to the *Supreme*, saith, this should confirme *every* good subject, to acknowledge and maintaine the Kings *supremacy*, and *willingly* to binde himselfe thereto by *oath*; for the *oath* of *supremacy*.

*premac*y is the *bond* of this subjection ; and this *oath* men must take without *equivocation*, mentall evasion, or secret reservation : yea it should *binde* in them the same resolution that was in Saint Bernard, who saith, if all the world should *conspire* against me, to make me *complot* any thing against the Kings Majesty, yet I would *feare* God, and not dare to *offend* the King, ordained of God.

I might fill a *volume*, if I would collect the testimonies of our best Writers; I will adde but one, of a most *excellent* King, our late King James of ever blessed memory; for he saith, The *improbability* or fault of the Governour ought not to *subject* the King to them, over whom he is appointed Judge by God; for if it be not *lawfull* for a *private* man to prosecute the *injury* that is offered unto him against his *private* adversary, when God hath committed the sword of *vengeance* onely to the Magistrate, how much *lesse lawfull* is it, thinke you, either for *all the people*, or for *some* of them to *usurpe* the sword, whereof they have *no right*, against the *publique* Magistrate, to whom *alone* it is committed by God?

Serenissimus
Rex Jacobus,
de vera lege li-
bera Monarchia.

This hath beene the Doctrine of all the *Learned*, of all the *Saints* of God, of all the *Martyrs* of Jesus Christ; and therefore not onely *they* that suffered in the *first* Persecutions under *Heathen* Tyrants, but also *they* that *now of late* lived under *Queene Mary*, and were compelled to undergoe most *exquisite* torments, without *number*, and beyond *measure*; yet none of them, either in his *former* life, or when he was brought to his *execution*, did either *despise* her cruell Majesty, or yet *curse* this Tyrant Queene, that made such havocke of the Church of Christ, and *causelessly* spilt so much *innocent* bloud; but being *true* Saints, they *feared* God, and *honoured* her: and in all obedience to her *authority*, they yeelded their *estates* and goods to be spoyled, their *liberties* to be infringed, and their *bodies* to be imprisoned, abused, and burned, as oblations unto God, rather then contrary to the *command* of their Master Christ, they would give so much *allowance* unto their consciences; as for the preservation of their *lives*, to make any shew of *resistance* against their most *blondy* Persecuters, whom they knew to have

The obedient
example of the
Martyrs in the
time of Queene
Mary.

their *authority* from that *bloudy*, yet their *lawfull* Queene.

Numb. 24. 15.

Gen. 19. 11.

The conclusion
of the whole.

And therefore I hope it is *apparent* unto *all* men that have their *eyes* open, and will not with *Baalam* most *wilfully* deceive themselves; or with the *Sodomites*, grope for the wall at noone day; that, by the *Law* of God, by the *example* of all *Saints*, by the *rule* of honesty, and by all other *equitable* considerations, it is not lawfull for *any* man, or any *degree* or sort of men, Magistrates, Peeres, Parliaments. Popes, or whatsoever you please to call them, to give *so much* liberty unto their *misguided* consciences, and so farre to follow the desires of their *unruly* affections, as for *any* cause, or under *any* pretence to withstand Gods *Vicegerent*, and with *violence* to make warre against their *lawfull* King; or indeed, in the *least* degree and *lowest* manner, to offer any *indignity* either in thought, word, or deed; either to *Moses* our King, or to *Aaron* our High Priest, that hath the care and charge of our soules; or to any other of those *subordinate* callings, that are *lawfully* sent by them to discharge *those* offices wherewith they are intrusted: This is the *truth* of God, and so acknowledged by all *good* men. And what Preachers teach the contrary, I dare boldly affirme it, in the name of God, that they are the *incendiaries* of Hell, and deserve rather with *Corah* to be *consumed* with fire from Heaven, then to be *beleaved* by any man on Earth.

CHAP. X.

Sheweth the impudency of the Anti-Cavalier: How the Rebels deny they warre against the King: An unanswerable Argument to presse obedience: A further discussion, whether for our Liberty, Religion, or Lawes, we may resist our Kings; and a patheticall dissuasion from Rebellion.

I Could insert here *abundant* more, both of the *Ancient* and *Moderne* Writers, that doe with *invincible* Arguments con-
firme

firme this truth : but the *Anti-Cavalier* would perswade the *Anti-Cavalier*,
 world, that all those *learned* Fathers, and those *constant* Mar- *p. 17, 18, &c.*
 tyrs, that spent their *purest* bloud to preserve the purity of re-
 ligion unto us, did either *belye* their owne strength, * or *befoole* * Yet *Tertul.*
 themselves with the *undue* desire of *overvalued* Martyrdome ; *Cypr.* (whom I
 but now they are instructed by a *better* spirit, they have *clearer* and *Ruffin. hist.*
 illuminations to informe them to *resist* (if they have *strength*) the *Eccles. l. 2. c. 1.*
best and most lawfull authority that shall either *oppose* or not and *S. August.*
consent unto them : thus they throw *dirt* in the Fathers face, *in Psal. 124.*
 and *dishonour* that *glorious* company, and *noble* army of Mar- and others a-
 tyrs, which our *Church* confesseth, prayseth God ; and there- vouch, the
 fore no wonder that they will *warre* against Gods *annointed* Christians
 here on Earth, when they dare thus *dishonour* and abuse his were far stron-
Saints that raigne in Heaven : but I hope the world will be- ger then their
 leeve, that those *holy* Saints were as *honest* men, and those *wor-* enemies, and
thy Martyrs, that so *willingly* sacrificed their lives in defence of the greatest
 truth, could as well *testifie* the truth, and be as well *informed* part of *Julsiana*-
 of the truth, as these seditious *spirits* that spend all their breath army were
 to raise *armes* against their Prince, and to spill so much *bloud* Christians.
 of the most *faithfull* subjects.

But though the authority of the *best* authors is of *no* autho-
 rity with them, that will beleeve none but themselves ; yet I
 would wish all other men to reade that *Homilie* of the Church
 of *England*, where it is said, that *God did never long prosper re-*
bellious subjects against their Prince, were they never so great
 in authority, or so *many* in number : yea, were they never so
noble, so *many*, so *stout*, so *witty* and *politique*, but alwayes they
 came by the overthrow, and to a *shamefull* end. Yea, though
 they pretend the *redresse* of the Common-wealth, (which *re-*
bellion of all other mischiefes doth most destroy ;) or *reformati-*
on of religion, (whereas *rebellion* is most against all true religi-
 on) yet the *speedy* overthrow of all *Rebels* sheweth, that God
 alloweth neither the *dignity* of any person, nor the *multitude* The *Homilie*
 of any people, nor the *weight* of any cause, as sufficient, for the against rebelli-
 which the *subjects* may move *rebellion* against their *Princes* : on. *p. 300. &*
 and I would to God that *every* subject would reade over all the 301.
 fix parts of that *Homilie* against *wilfull rebellion* ; for there are
 many

many excellent passages in it ; which, being *diligently* read, and *seriously* weighed, would worke upon every *honest* heart, never to *rebell* against their *lawfull* Prince.

And therefore the *Lames* of all Lands being so plaine to pronounce them *Traytors*, that take *armes* against their Kings, (as you may see in the Statutes of *England*, 25 *Edw. 3. c. 2.* And as you know, it was one of the greatest Articles for which the Earle of *Strafford* was beheaded, that he had actually leavied warre against the King :) The Nobles and Gentry, Lords and Commons of both Houses of Parliament, in all Kingdomes, being convicted in their *consciencs* with the *truth* of this Doctrine, doe in all their *Votes* and *Declarations* conclude and protest, (and I must *beleeve* them) that all the *leavyes*, *monyes*, and other provision of horse and men, that they raise and arme, are for the *safety* of the Kings person, and for the maintenance of his *Crowne* and *Dignity*.

Nay, more then this, the very *Rebels* in this our Kingdome of *Ireland*, knowing how *odious* it is before God and man, for subjects to *rebell* and take *armes* against their *lawfull* King, do *protest*, if you will beleeve them, that they are the Kings *souldiers*, and doe *fight* and *suffer* for their King, and in defence of his *Prerogatives*.

But you know the *old* saying *Tuta frequensq; via est sub amici fallere nomen*, the Devill deceiveth us *soonest* when he comes like an *Angel* of light ; and you shall ever know the true subjects best by their *actions*, farre better then by their *Votes*, *Declarations*, or *Protestations* ; for, *Quid audiam verba, cum videam contraria facta* ? When men doe come in *sheepes* cloathing, and inwardly are ravening *wolves*, when they come with *honey* in their mouthes, and *gall* in their hearts, and like *Joab*, with *peace* in their tongue, and a *sword* in their hand, a *petition* to intreat, and a *weapon* to compell ; I am told by my Saviour, that *I shall know them by their workes*, not their words.

And therefore, as our Saviour saith, *Not he that saith, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the Kingdome of Heaven, but he that doth the will of my Father which is in Heaven* : So I say, not he that cryeth *peace, peace*, is the sonne of *peace*, but he that doth obey

his

his Prince, and doth most *willingly* whatsoever he commandeth; or suffereth most *patiently* for refusing to do what he commandeth amisse: This is the *true* Subject.

Well, to draw towards the end of this *point*, of our *obedience* to our Sovereigne Governour, I desire you to remember a *double* story; the one of *Plutarch*, which tells us how the *tayle* of the Serpent rebelled against the *head*, because that did *guide* the whole body, and drew the *tayle* after it whithersoever it would, therefore the *head* yeelded that the *tayle* should rule; and then, it being *small* and wanting *eyes*, drew the *whole* body, head and all, through such *narrow* crevices, clefts, and thickets, that it *soone* brought the Serpent to confusion. The other is of *Titus Livius*, who tells us, that when the people of *Rome* made a *factions* combination to *rebell* against their Governours, *Menenius Agrippa* went unto them, and said, that on a time all the *members* conspired against the *stomack*, and alleadged, that she devoured with *ease* and pleasure, what they had purchased with great *labour* and paine; therefore the feet would *walke* no more, the hands would *worke* no more, the tongue would *pleade* no more for it; and so within a while, the *long* fast of the stomach made *weake* knees, *feeble* hands, *dimme* eyes, a *faltering* tongue, and a heavy heart; and then *presently*, seeing their former *folly*, they were glad to be *reconciled* to the stomach againe: and this *reconciled* the people unto their Governours.

I need not make any other application, but to wish, and to advise us all with the people of *Rome*, to submit our selves unto our *heads*, that are our Governours, lest, if we be guided by the *tayle*, we shall bring our selves, with the *Serpent*, unto destruction:

And to remember that excellent speech of *S. Basil*, the people through *ambition*, are fallen into grievous *Anarchie*, whence it happeneth, that all the *exhortations* of their rulers do no good: no man hath any list to *obey*, but every man would reigne; being swelled up with *pride*, that springeth out of his ignorance: and a little after he saith, that some sit no lesse *implacable* and bitter examiners of things amisse, then *unjust* and malevolent

M

Judges

That is, when the Commonalty guide the Nobility, and the Subjects rule their King.

Titus Livius, Decad. 1. l. 2.

*Basilus de Spi-
ritu Sancto, c.
ult. scil. 30.*

An argument
of obedience
drawne from
the 5 comman-
dement.

1 Chron. 2. 24.

What we are
and should be
without King
or Priest.

Whether for
the liberty of
Subjects we
can be war-
ranted to rebel.

In the discourse
of the differen-
ces betwixt
King and Par-
liament.

Judges of things well done, so that we are more *bruitish* then the very beasts; because they are *quiet* among themselves, but we wage cruell and bloudy *warre* against each other.

And let us never forget that the Lord saith, *Honour thy father and thy mother*; and I must tell you, that by *father* in this precept, you must not onely understand your *naturall* father, but also the *King* who is your *politicall* father, and the father of *all* his subjects, and the *Priest* your *spirituall* father, and *those* likewise that *in loco patris*, doe breed and bring you up: and though *naturall* affection produceth *more* love and honour unto *those* fathers that begat us; yet *reason* and *religion* oblige us *more* unto the *King*, that is the *common* father of all, and to the *Priest*, that begat us unto Christ, then unto him that begat us into the world; for that without our *new birth*, which is ordinarily done by the office of the *Priest*, we were no Christians; and as good *unborne* as *unchristened*, that is, *unregenerated*: and without the *King*, that is, *Custos utriusq; tabula*, the preserver both of *publique* justice, and of the *pure* religion, our fathers can neither bring us up in *peace*, nor teach us in the *faith* of Christ: and therefore if my father should plot any *treason* against the King, or prove a *Rebell* against him, I am bound in *all* duty and conscience, to preferre the *publique* before the *private*, and if I cannot otherwise *avert* the same, to *reveale* the plot to preserve the *King*, though it were to the losse of my fathers life; and therefore certainly they that *curse*, that is, *speake evill* of their King, are *curst*; and they that *rebell* against him shall never have *their dayes long in the land*, but shall through their owne *rebellion*, be soone cut off from the land of the living.

For mine owne part, I have often admired, why the subjects of King CHARLES should raise any *civill* warre, and especially turne their *spleene* against him; if any say, it is for their *liberties*; I answer, that I am *confident* His Majestie never thought to bring any (the *meanest* of his subjects) into *bondage*; nor by an *arbitrary* government, to reduce them into the *like* condition, as the Peasants of *France*, or the Boores of *Germany*, or the *Pickroes* of *Spaine*, as some doe most falsly suggest: but that they

they should *continue*, as they have beene in the dayes of his Father, of blessed memory, and of *all* others his most *noble* Progenitors, the *freest* subjects under Heaven. And I hope they desire not to be such *libertines* as those in the Primitive Church, who (because *Christian liberty* freed us from all *Jewish* Ceremonies, and all *typicall* Rites, which were such a burthen that *neither we nor our fathers could undergo*, and also from the *curse* and malediction of the *morall* law) would, under this *pretence* of *Christian liberty*, be freed from the *obligation* of *all* lawes, and give themselves the *freedom* to doe what they pleased; for this would proue to be, not the *liberty*, but the *bondage* and the base slavery of a people, that are not *governed* by lawes, but *suffered* to doe what they please; because, that neither *God* nor good *lawes* confine us, but for our owne *good*: and hee that forbids us to obey *impious* commands, bids us to obey all *righteous* lawes; and rather to *suffer* then to *resist* the most *unrighteous* Governours. But I feare, that under the name of the *liberty* of the subjects, the *licentiousnesse* of the flesh is aymed at; because you may see by what is *already* come to passe, our *civill* dissention hath procured to *many* men such a *liberty*, that *few* men are sure either of their *life* or *estate*: and God blesse me from such a *liberty*, and send me rather to be the *slave* of Christ, then such a *libertine* of the world.

The Libertines of the Primitive Church, what they thought.

What is often aimed at under the name of the liberty of the Subjects.

And if *religion* be the cause that moveth you hereunto; I confesse this should be *dearer* to us then our lives; but this *title* is like a *velvet* maske, that is often used to cover a *deformed* face, & *decipimur specie recti*: for as that worthy and learned Knight Sir *John Cheeke*, that was Tutor to King *Edward* the sixth, saith, if you were offered *Persecution* for *Religion*, you ought to *flie*, and yet you intend to *fight*; if you would stand in the *truth*, ye ought to suffer like *Martyrs*, and you would slay like *Tyrants*. Thus for *religion* you keepe *no* religion, and neither will follow the *counsell* of Christ, nor the *constancie* of Martyrs. And a little after, he demands why the people should not like that *Religion* which Gods *Word* established, the *Primitive* Church hath authorized, the *greatest* learned men of this Realme, and the whole consent of the *Parliament* have confir-

Whether for the preservation of our religion, we can be warranted to rebell.

Sir John Cheek
in the true sub-
ject to the re-
bell. p. 4. & 6.

Micah 3. 10.

True religion
never rebelleth.

Whether the
Lawes of our
Land doe war-
rant us to re-
bell.

*Lalins de privi-
leg. Eccles. 112.*

med, and the Kings Majestie hath set forth, is it not truely set out? Dare you *Commons* take upon you *more* learning then the *chosen* Bishops and Clerks of this Realme have? this was the judgement of that *judicious* man: and I must tell you that *Religion* never taught *Rebellion*; neither was it the *will* of Christ, that faith should be compelled by *fighting*, but perswaded by *preaching*; for the Lord sharply reproveth them *that built up Sion with bloud, and Hierusalem with iniquity*: and the *practice* of Christ and his Apostles was to *reforme* the Church by *prayers* and *preaching*, and not with *fire* and *sword*; and they presse *obedience* unto our Governours, yea, though they were *impious, infidels, and idolatrous*, with arguments fetched from Gods *ordinance*, from mans *conscience*, from *wrath* and *vengeance*, and from the terrible *sentence* of damnation; and this truth is so solid, that it hath the *cleare* testimony of *holy Writ*, the perpetuall practice of *all* the Primitive Saints and Martyrs; and I dare boldly say it, the *unanimous* consent of all the *orthodox* Bishops and Catholique Writers, both in *England* and *Ireland*, and in all the world, that Christian Religion teacheth us never with any *violence* to resist, or with *armes* to withstand the authority of our *lawfull* Kings.

If you say the *Lawes* of our Land, and the *Constitutions* of this our Kingdome, doe give us leave to stand upon our *liberty*, and to withstand *all tyranny* that shall be offered unto us, especially when our *estates, lives, and religion*, are in danger to bee destroyed.

To this I say with *Lalins*, that *Nulla lex valeat contra jus divinum*, mans lawes can exact no further obedience then may stand with the observance of the *divine* precepts; and therefore we must not so preferre them, or rely upon them so much, as to *prejudice* the other: and for our *fear* of the losse of *estate, life, or religion*, I wish it may not be settled upon *groundlesse* suspicions; for I know, and all the world may beleeve, that our King is a most *clement* and *religious* Prince, that never did give *cause* unto any of his subjects to *foster* such feares and jealousies within his breast; and you know what the *Psalmist* saith of many men, *They were affraid where no feare was*. And *Job* tells you,

you, whom *terroures shall make affraid on every side*, and shall *drive him to his feet*; (that is, to runne away, as you see the *Rebels* doe from the Kings Army in every place) and in whose *Tabernacle shall dwell the King of feare*: for, though the *ungodly fleeth when no man pursueth him*, yet they that *trust in God* are *confident as Lyons*, without feare; they know that the *heart of the King is not in his owne hand, but in the hand of the Lord, as the rivers of waters, and he turneth it whithersoever it pleaseth him*; either to *save* them, or *destroy* them, even as it *pleaseth God*: he ordereth the King how to *rule* the people.

Job. 18. 11, 12.

Prov. 21. 1.

Bonav. ad secundam, dist.

35. art. 2. q. 3.

And therefore in the *name* of God, and for Christ Jesus sake, let me *perswade* you to put away all *causelesse feares* and *groundlesse jealousies*, and *trust your King*; if not, *trust your God*; and let your *will*, which is so *unhappy* in it selfe, become *right* and *equall*, by receiving direction from the *will* of God; and remember what *Ulpian* the great *Civilian* saith, that *rebellion* and *disobedience* unto your King is *proximum sacrilegio crimen*, and that it is in *Samuels* judgement *as the sinne of witchcraft*, whereby men forsake *God*, and cleave unto the *Deuill*: and above all, remember the *oath* that many of you have taken, to be *true* and *faithfull* unto your King, and to *reueale* whatsoever evils or *plots* that you shall *know* or *heare* to be contrived against his Person, Crowne, or Dignity, and defend him from them, *Pro posse tuo*, to the uttermost of your power, *So helpe you God*. Which *oath*, how they that are *any wayes assistant* in a *warre* against their King, can *dispen*ce with, I cannot with all my wit and learning understand: and therefore *returne, O Shulamite, returne*, lay downe thine armes, *submit* thy selfe unto thy *Soveraigne*, and know, that as *the Kings of Israel were mercifull Kings*, so is the King of *England*; thou shalt finde *grace* in the time of need: but *delay* not this duty, lest, as *Demades* saith, the *Athenians* never sate upon treaties of peace, but in *mourning weeds*, when by the losse of their *nearest* friends they had paid too deare for their quarrels, so thou be driven to doe the like: for (except the finnes of the people require no lesse satisfaction then the ruine of the Kingdome.) I am confident, and am ready to hazard *life* and *fortunes* in this

The remembrance of his oath should be a terrour to the conscience of every rebell.

1 King. 20. 31.

The Authors
confidence of
the Kings vi-
ctory.

confidence, that the *goodnesse* of our King, the *justnesse* of his cause, and the *prayers* of all honest and faithfull Minilters for him and our Church, will in the *end* give him the *victory* over all those his *rebellious* enemies, that with lyes, slanders, and false imputations, have *seduced* the Kings subjects, to strengthen *themselves* against their Sovereigne: and all the world shall see, that as Christ, so in *Sensu modificato*, this Vicegerent of Christ, shall rule in the midst of these his enemies, and shall reigne untill he puts them all under his feet.

A rebellion,
that the like
was never seen.

And because we never read of any rebellion (not this of *Cora* here, which of above six hundred thousand men had not many more then 250 Rebels: nor that of *Absolon* against *David*, who had all the *Priests* and *Levites*, and the best Counsellors, and a mighty Army with him, such as was able to overthrow *Absolon* and twenty thousand men in the plaine field; nor *Israel* against *Rehoboam*, because they did but *revolt* from him, and not with any hostile Armes *invade* him; nor the Senate of *Rome* against *Cesar*, though he was the *first* that intrenched upon their *liberty*, and intended to exchange their Aristo-democracie into a Monarchie; nor any other that I can remember, except that Councell which condemned Christ to death) that was growne to that *height*, to be so *absolute* and so perfect a rebellion in *all* respects, as that a whole *Parliament* in a manner, and the *major* part of the *Plebeians* of a whole Kingdome, should make a *Covenant with Hell it selfe*, yea, and which is *most* considerable, that (as I understand the beginning of this *rebellion* in this Kingdome of *Ireland* was) the *Commonalty* therein should so fascinate the *Nobility*, as to allure them so long to *confirm* their Votes, till at last they must be *compelled* in all things to adhere unto their conclusions; that they, whose power was formerly *most absolute* without them, must now be *subordinate* unto them, that the *strength* of the people may defend the *weakenesse* of the Nobility from that *desert*, which they merited by their simplicity, to be *seduced* to joyne with them to rebell against their King. Therefore, if *any faction* in *any* Parliament should *thus* combine against the Lord, and against his *annointed*, there is no question, but their *reducement*

ment to obedience, will make *that* Majestie, which shall effect it, more *glorious* to posteritie, then were any of all his Predecessors.

And therefore I say againe, *Returne, O Shulamite, returne*, and remember I pray thee, remember, lest my words shall accuse thy *conscience* in the day of judgement, that we are *often* commanded in *many* places of the Scriptures, to obey our *Kings*, but in *no* place bidden, nor permitted to rise up and assist any *Parliament* against our King: if thou sayest thou dost not doe it against thy King, but against *such* and *such* that doe abuse the King; I told you before, that whosoever resisteth him that hath the Kings *authority*, resisteth the King; and therefore the whole world of *intelligible* men laugheth at this *galle-ry*, and he that dwelleth in the heavens *shall laugh it to scorne*; when with such *equivocation* men shall thinke to justifie their *rebellion*; and I hope the people will not still remaine so simple, as to thinke that all the Canon and the Musket shot which the enemies of a King should make at him, must be understood to be for the safety of his person.

And as neither *private* men, nor any *Senate*, nor *Magistrate*, nor *Peeres*, nor *Parliament*, can *lawfully* resist and take armes against their King; so neither *Synod*, nor *Counsell*, nor *Pope*, have any power to depose, excommunicate, or abdicate; or to give *immunities* to Clergy, or *absolution* to subjects, thereby to free them from their *duty* and due allegiance, and to give them any *colour* of allowance to *rebell* and make warre against their *lawfull* King. And this point I should the more *largely* prosecute, because the *natives* of this Kingdome are more addicted to the *Pope* and his Decrees, then any *others* of all the Kings Dominion; but the *bulke* of this Treatise is already too much swelled, and I hope I may have *hereafter* a fitter opportunity to enlarge this Chapter: and therefore till then, I will onely referre my Reader unto *Pareus*, *John Bede*, and abundance more, that have most plentifully written of this Argument.

And so much for the *persons* against whom they rebelled, *Moses* their King, and *Aaron* their High Priest, or chiefe Bishop; and

That the Pope hath no power to licence any man to make warre against the King.

Pareus in Rom.
13.

Johan. Bede, in the right and prerogatives of Kings: and the Treatise intitled *God and the King*.

and both these the *prime* Governours of Gods people, whom they ought by *all* lawes to have *obeyed*, and for *no* cause to have *rebelled* against them.

CHAP. XI.

Sheweth what these Rebels did: How by ten severall steps and degrees (1. Pride. 2. Discontent. 3. Envy. 4. Murmuring. 5. Hypocrisie. 6. Lying. 7. Slandering. 8. Rayling. 9. Disobedience. 10. Resistance.) they ascended to the height of their Rebellion; and how these are the steps and the wayes to all rebellions, and the reason which moveth men to rebell.

3. Part. What these Rebels did.

* Numb. 16.

Pride the beginning of rebellion.

3. **W**E are to consider, *Quid fecerunt*, what these Rebels did. *Cajetan* saith, *Zelati sunt*. *Tirinus* saith, *Irritaverunt*. The vulgar *Latine* saith, *Emulati sunt*. Our vulgar *English* saith, *They angred Moses*: and our last *English* saith, *They envyed Moses*. And indeed the large extent of the *original* word, and the *diversity* of the Translation of it sheweth the *greatnesse* of their iniquity, and the *multiformity* or *multiplicity* of their sinne: And therefore that you may *truly* understand it, you must looke into the *Historie**, and there you shall see the *whole* matter; the *conception*, *birth*, *strength*, and *progresse* of their sinne: for,

1. This sinne was *begotten* by the seed of *Pride*; they conceived an opinion of their owne *excellency*; excellency, that bewitcheth men to rebell, thinking that they are *inferiour* to none, *equall* to the best, if not *superiour* unto all; and therefore they *disdained* to be governed, and *aspired* to the government of Gods people: And then *Pride*, as the *father*, begat *Discontentment* as his *eldest* sonne; they liked not their owne *station*, but would faine be promoted to *higher* dignity; and because *Moses* and *Aaron* were settled in the government *before* them, and they knew not how either to be *adjoyned* with them,

them, or *advanced* above them; therefore discontent begat *Envy*, and they began to *pine* away at their felicity; and so our last *English* reads it, *They envied Moses*.

2. This sinne being thus *conceived* in the wombe of the heart, at last it commeth forth to *birth* at the mouth; for *out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh*: and they begin to *murmure* and mutter among themselves, and as *Rebels* use to have, they have many *private* meetings and conventicles among themselves, where they say, we are all good, *we are all holy*, and they are no better then we; and as *Absolon* depraved his *fathers* government, and promised *justice* and judgement, and *golden* mountaines unto the people, if he were *King*: so doe they traduce the *present* government with all scandalous imputations, and professe such a *reformation*, as would make all people happy, if they were but in *Moses* place; or made *over* him, or *with* him, the Guardians and Protectors of the Common-wealth.

Private meetings do often produce mischiefes.

2 Sam. 15. 3, 4.

And so now you see this *ugly* monster, the sonne of *Pride* and *Discontentment*, is borne into the world, and spreads it selfe from the *inward* thought to *open* words. Then *Moses* heares the voyce of this *infant*, which was not like the voyce of *Jacob*, but of the *Serpent*, which spitteth *fire* and *poyson* out of his mouth.

And therefore lest this *fire* should consume them, and these *mutterers* prove their murderers, *Moses* now begins to look unto *himselfe*, and to answer for his *brother*; he calleth these *rebels*, and he telleth them, that neither *he* nor his *brother* had *ambitiously* usurped, but were lawfully called into those places; and to make this apparent to all *Israel*, he bade these *rebels* come out of their Castles to some other place, where he might safely treat and conferre with them; and that was to the Tabernacle of the Lord: that is, to the place where *wisedome* and *truth* resided, and was from thence published and spread to all the people, and there the Lord should shew them *whom* hee had chosen.

And here I doe observe the *care* and *wisedome* of the Prophet, that at the *first* appearance of their designe, would pre-

The wisedome of Moses.

N

sently

sently begin to protect his brother, before their rebellion had increased to any strength; for had he then delivered *Aaron* into their hands, his hands had been so *weakened*, that he had never been able afterwards to defend himselfe; to teach *all* Kings to beware, that they yeeld not their *Bishops* and *Priests* unto the desires of the people, which is the *fore runner* of rebellion against themselves: for as King *Philip* told the *Athenians*, that he had no dislike to *them*, but would admit them into his *protection*, so they would deliver to him their *Orators*, which were the *fomenters* of all mischief, and the people were mad to doe it; till *Demosthenes* told them, how the *Wolfe* made the same proposition unto the *Sheepe* to become their *friends* and protectors, so they would deliver their *Dogs*, which were the cause of all discontent betwixt them; and the *Sheepe* being already weary of their *Dogs*, delivered them all unto the *Wolves*, and then immediately the *Wolves* spared neither *Sheepe* nor *Lambe*, but tore them in pieces without *resistance*: even so, when any *King* yeeldeth his *Bishops* unto the peoples *Votes*, he may feare ere long to feele the smart of this great mistake.

Therefore *Moses* wisely delivereth not his brother, but stoutly defendeth him, who he knew had no wayes offended them; and offered, if they came to a convenient place, to make this plaine to all the people.

But as *evil* weeds grow apace, and *lewd* sonnes will not be kept under, so the more *Moses* sought to suppress this sinne, the faster it grew, and spread it selfe to many branches; from *secret* muttering, to *open* rayling; from *inward* discontent, to *outward* disobedience; they tell them plainly to their faces, they will not come, *è Castris*, from their strong holds: they accuse them *falsly*, that *Moses* their Prince aymed at *nothing* but their destruction; and to that end, had brought them out of a good land to be killed in the wildernesse, and contemning them most *scornefully* in the face of all the people; whatsoever *Moses* bids them doe, they resolve to doe the contrary.

So now *Moses* might well say with the Poet,

Quocunque aspicio nihil est nisi pontus, & ather.

And therefore it was high time this *evil* weed should be rooted.

The witty tale
of Demosthenes
to save the O-
rators, and to
assure all Kings
that if Aarons
tongue, and the
Prophets penne
perswade not
the conscience
to yeild obedi-
ence, Moses
power and Jo-
shuas sword
may subdue the
people to sub-
jection, but ne-
ver retaine
them long
without rebel-
lion.

Evill men grow
worse, & worse.
Vers. 12.

Vers. 13.
Moses is in a
strait.

Fluctibus hinc
indus, nubibus
ille minaxo,

ted on
be del
ple; a
ira/ci,
mercy
the W
bels ha
vernou
people
must c
him th
sider o
And
and he
cumul
for her

A mo
I.
Churc
Comm
humbl
sturdy
2.
tious
aristh
rions i
as it is
no inter
sweet
Israel
a little
tels hi

red out, or else the good corne shal be choaked; these *Rebels* must be destroyed, or they will destroy the *Governours* of Gods people; and *Moses* now must waxe angry, *Nam debet amor læsus irasci*, otherwise his meekenesse had beene stupidnesse, and his mercy had proved little better then cruelty; when as to spare the *Wolfe* is to spoile the *Sheepe*: and because these great *Rebels* had with *Absolon*, by their false accusations of their *Governours*, and their subtle insinuations into the affections of the people, stole away the hearts of many men; therefore *Moses* must call for aide from Heaven, and say, *Exurgat Deus*; and let him that hath sent me now defend me: So God must be the decider of this dissention, as you may see he was in the next verse.

And by this you finde, *Quid fecerunt*, what these *Rebels* did; and how their sinne was not *Simplex peccatum*, but *Morbis cumulatus*, a very Chaos, and an heape of confused iniquity: for here is,

- | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. <i>Pride.</i> | 6. <i>Lying.</i> |
| 2. <i>Discontent.</i> | 7. <i>Slandering.</i> |
| 3. <i>Envy.</i> | 8. <i>Rayling.</i> |
| 4. <i>Murmuring.</i> | 9. <i>Disobedience.</i> |
| 5. <i>Hypocrisie.</i> | 10. <i>Rebellion.</i> |

The tenfold sin
of rebels.

A monster indeed that is, a ten headed, or ten horned beast.

1. *Pride*, which bred the distraction in the Primitive Church, and will be the destruction of any Church, of any Common-wealth, was the first seed of their rebellion; for the humble man will easily be governed, but the proud heart, like a sturdy oake, will rather breake, then bend.

1. *Pride.*

2. *Discontent* was the second step, and that is a most vexatious vice; for though contentation is a rare blessing, because it ariseth either from a fruition of all comforts, as it is in the glorious in Heaven; or a not desiring of that which they have not, as it is in the Saints on earth; yet discontent is that which annointeth all our joyes with Aloës: for though life be naturally sweet, yet a little discontent makes us weary of our lives, as the Israelites, that loved their lives as well as any, yet for want of a little water, say, *O that we had dyed in Egypt*. And *Haman* tels his wife, that all the honour which the King and Queene

2. *Discontent.*

The poyson of
discontent.

Hester 5. 138

shewed unto him, availed him *nothing*, so long as *Mordecai* refused to bow unto him.

The common condition of man to be ever wanting something.

And *discontent* may as well invade the *highest* as the *lowest*; for as none is so *bare* but he hath some benefits, so none is so *full* but he wanteth something; as the *Israelites* had *Manna*, but they wanted *water*; and when they had *water* they wanted *flesh*, and this want made them *discontented*; so these *Rebels* had the dignity to be *Levites*, and to be *Peeres*, of high places, and *heads* of all their families, which was more then they deserved; but they wanted the honour to be *Priests*, and to be *Kings*, the chiefe Governours of Gods people, which they desired; and therefore were *discontented*, because their *conceit* was unsatisfiable, and their *desires* unsatisfied.

3. Envy.

How monstrous a sinne is Envy.

Gen. 4. 8.
Act. 7. 9.

Cyprian. in
serm. de Li-
voro.

3. As *Pride* makes men *discontented* to be inferiour unto any, so *Discontent* makes them alwayes to *envy* their superiors: and therefore *Envy* is the third *head* of this monster, and the third *step* unto rebellion; a most *hatefull* vice before God and man, that I should *pine* away with griefe, because God is *gracious* unto another; and I must be *angry* with God, because hee will not be *guided* by me in the disposing of his favours: and therefore Saint *Augustine* calleth this a *devillish* vice, which caused *Cain* to kill *Abell*; the Patriarchs to sell *Joseph*; the Medes to molest *Daniel*; and the Nobility of *Jury* to persecute good King *David*, and to crucifie the sonne of *David*, Christ himselte; *Et ideo periere, quia maluerunt Christo invidere, quam credere.*

And yet herein I must commend *Envy*, that as the Poet saith, ——— *Sit licet injustus livor*: Though it bee *unjust* to others, yet is it very *just*, to destroy them first that would destroy others; as the *envy* of these *rebels* did *Sampson* like, pull downe the house upon their *owne* heads; and will most *likely* bring destruction unto those that *follow* them in rebellion.

4. Murmuring.

4. *(Murmuring* is a secret discontented *muttering* one to another of things that we *dislike*, or persons that we *distaste*; and the very word in all languages seemes as *harsh* unto our eares, as the sinne is *hatefull* unto our soules: for in *Greece* it is called *πυγυζω*; in *Latine*, *Murmurare*; in *English*, to *Murmure*;

mure; in *Brittish*, *Grugnach*; a *sad* word and a *sowre* sinne: therefore the wise man saith, *Beware of murmuring, which is nothing worth*; and yet this sinne was frequent among the *Israelites*, (three times in three Chapters) that they could never leave it, till as Saint Paul saith, *They were destroyed of the destroyer.* Exod. c. 15.
c. 16. c. 17.
1 Cor. 10.

5. *Hypocrisie* is when a man seemes to be what he is not; 5. *Hypocrisie*, for as Saint Hierom saith, *Qui intus Cato, foris Nero, hypocrita est*; he that talkes of *peace*, and prepares for *warre*; that protesteth *loyalty*, and yet hates his *King*; that in his words will advance the Church, but in his actions will overthrow the Church-men; that commends all *piety*, but commits all *iniquity*; that will not *swear* for a Kingdome, but *deceive* for a penny; that pretends the *safety* of the Kings Person, but purloineth away all his *power*; that will *bend* his knee, and say, *Haile King*, but will spit in his face, and crowne him with *thornes*, he is an *hypocrite*: So these *rebels* say, they are all *holy*, they love all their brethren, they hate *usurpation*, and cannot endure the tyranny of these Governours; but indeed, though they cryed, *Templum Domini, Templum Domini*, all for the *King*, and all for the *Church*; all for *Moses*, and all for *Aaron*; yet notwithstanding this voyce of *Iacob*, they had the hands of *Esau*, and they would have brought *Moses* and *Aaron* to confusion, as they brought themselves to destruction.

This is the property of an *Hypocrite*, and therefore *Iob* speaking of an *hypocrite*, saith, (and it is exceedingly well worth the observing) *Though his excellency mount up to the heavens, and his head reach unto the clouds, yet he shall perish for ever like his owne dung*; they which have seene him, (that is, they which came out to see his pompe and his greatnesse, and have admired at the greatnesse of his glory) shall say, *where is he?* or, how chance he doth not ride on with his honour? *Iob* answereth, *Job. 20. 6, 7, 8, 9.* *The eye which saw him, shall see him no more*; that is, in the like majestic, neither shall his place any more behold him: for, *Hee shall flee away as a dreame, and shall not be found*; yea, *hee shall be chased away as a vision in the night*. And our Saviour knowing aswell the cruelty, as the subtilty of *hypocrites*, biddeth us

Math. 7. 15. to beware of hypocrites : as the Poet saith ,
Hypocritas fugito, sicut atri limina ditis.

Hypocrisie , Shun *hypocrites* as the gates of Hell , and beleeve their *actions*
 how odious it rather than their *protestations* : for as in the Old Testament *Sodom*
 is. and *Gomorrab* are the patternes of all *beastlinesse* , so in
 the New Testament the greatest sinners are threatned to have
 their portion with the *hypocrites* .

6. Lying.

Master Griffith
 in his patheti-
 call perswasion
 to peace, p. 28.

6. *Lying* must follow *Hypocrisie* at the heeles , for were it
 not for the *heapes* of lyes that *hypocrites* spread abroad , the
 world could not *possibily* be so *easily* seduced by their hypo-
 crisie ; and I read it in a Sermon of a learned Divine , that
 now adayes some *phanatique* Sectaries of *desperate* opinions and
despicable fortunes , (whom the Church and State finde to be a
malignant party) having *little* else to do, make it their *trade* to
 lye both by whole sale and retayle; they *invent* lyes, and *vent*
 lyes ; they *tell* lyes, and *write* lyes, and *print* lyes ; yea, I may
 adde, and more *palpable* lyes, and more *abominable*, then either
Bourne or *Butter* ever published of the affaires of *Germany*; and
 this they doe as confidently and impudently, as if they were in-
 formed by that *lying* spirit , which entred as a *Voluntier* into
Ahabs Prophets ; and by *lying* and raising false rumours, they
 beget *jealousies* and feares in the people , and by *blowing* the
 coales which *themselves* kindled , and inlarging the difference
 betwixt *King* and *Parliament*, they set all in a *combustion* , and
 bring all into *confusion* : and that which grieves me *most*, he
 saith, that they are *Preachers*, which in the exuberancie of their
misgrounded and misguided *zeale* doe both *preach* and *pray* a-
 gainst *publique* peace, as inconsistent with the *independency*, or
 rather *Anarchie* that they ayme at.

7. Slandering.

7. *Slandering* may be coupled unto their *lying*, because we
 can *slander* none with that which is truth ; therefore these *Re-*
bels say , *All the Congregation is holy* , and that is a *lye* . when
 there can be *no* holinesse in the *Rebels* ; and *the Lord is among*
them, which is *another* lye; for he will forsake all *those* that for-
 sake *him* : then they say *Moses* and *Aaron* take *too much* up-
 on *them*, which is an apparent *slander* ; and they adde, that they
lifted up themselves above the Congregation of the Lord, which
 is

is another *slander*, as false as the *father of lyes* could lay upon them; for I shewed unto you before, how *truly* they were called, and how *justly* they behaved themselves in their places; but as *Absolon* knew well enough, that to *traduce* his fathers Government, was the readiest way to *insinuate*, and to winde himselfe into a *good* opinion among the people, and to make the King *odious* unto his subjects; so these and all other *Rebels* will be sure to lay load enough of *lyes* and *slanders* upon their Governours; and so the namelesse Author of the *Soveraigne Antidote*, *Goodwin*, *Borroughes*, and abundance more, such *scandalous*, impudent, lying libels, have not blushed, (which a man would thinke the brazen face of Satan could not chuse but do) so *maliciously* and reproachfully, to lay to His Majesties charge *the things which* (as the Prophet saith) *hee never knew*; and which all they that know the King, doe know to be apparent *lyes*, and most *abominable* slanders against the Lords Vicegerent: but, *Quid domini facient, audeant cum talia fures?*

Goodwin in his
Anti-Caval.
Borroughes in
his Sermon up-
on the glorious
name of the
Lord of Hosts.

You know the *meaning* of the Poet, and you may know the *reason* why these *grand lyers*, these *impudent* slanderers, doe so impudently belye so *good* a King, so pious and so gracious a Majestie; for lay on enough, *Et aliquid adharebit*, and throw dust enough in their faces; and let the Governours be never so *good*, the King as milde and as unproveable as *Moses*, and the Bishops like *Aaron*, the *Saints of the Lord*; yet *some* thing will sticke in the opinion of the simple, that are not able to discerne the *subtilty* of those distractors.

And as they *diminish* and undermine the credit and reputation of the best Governours, by no other engine then a *lying* tongue and a *false* pen, so with the same instruments they doe *magnifie* their owne repute, and further their unjust proceedings, by deceiving the most *simple* with such *equivocall* lyes, as any *sensible* man might well wonder, that they should be so *insensibly* swallowed downe; as, when they say, they fight for him whom they *shoot* at; and they are for the King, when with all their *might* and maine they strive to take away his *power*, to pull the *sword* out of his hand, and to throw his *Crowne* downe to the dust; which is so *strange* a kinde of equivocation, as
might

A strange equi-
vocation.

The tale of an
Anabaptist.

might well move men with *Pilate*, to aske *what is truth*; which we can *never* understand, if *any* of these things can be true: which (as one saith most truly) is one of the absurdest *galleries* that ever was put upon *any* Nation; much like that *Anabaptist* which I knew, that beat his *wife* almost to death; and said, he beat not *her*, but that evill *spirit* that was in her.

Therefore the Lord hateth this *abominable* sinne, because it is *unpossible* the people should be so soon drawn into *rebellion*, if they did not credit these *defamations*: But the wise man tells us, that *Stultus credit omni verbo*; therefore *no* wise man will beleieve those *false* and wicked *slanders*, that such *malicious* Rebels doe spread abroad against their King, Prince, or Priest, or any other Governour of Gods people.

8. Rayling.

8. After they had *thus slandered* these good men, they fell to open *rayling* against them, as you may see, *Numb. 16. 13, 14.* for now they had *eaten* shame, and *drunke* after it; and therefore they cared not *what* they said; and so *now* we finde how the *Rebels* deale with our King, and with our Bishops too; with our *Moses*, and with our *Aaron*; for here in *Ireland* they rebell against their Sovereigne, because he is no *Papist*, and will not *countenance* the *Papists* as they desire: And in *England*, they *rayle* at him, and *rebell* against him, because they say, he is a *Papist*, and doth connive at *Popery*, and hath a *designe* to bring in *Popery* into the Kingdome; which is as flat a lye as the *father of lyes* hath ever invented. So the Bishops here are driven out of all, (as my selfe am expelled, *adibus & sedibus*, and left destitute of all reliefe) because we are no *Papists*, but doe both *preach* and *write* against their errors, as much as any, and more *learnedly* then many others. And in *England* we are *persecuted*, and driven to *flie* from place to place, or to take our place in a hard *prison*, (as my selfe have beene often forced to *flie*, and to *wander* in the cold and darke long nights) because we are *Papists*, and so *Popishly* given: Good God, *what* shall we doe, *whither* shall we goe, or *what* shall we say? for,

Nusquam tuta fides, — nec hospes ab hospite tutus.

We cannot *confide* in the *confiders*, to whom we are become *malignant* enemies for *speaking truth*; neither dare we trust in the

the fol
Catho
ly Bish
morta
But, I
he wa
things
twixt
King,
liou f
handle
persec
partie
and st
of pea
till th
Lord.
9.
worfe
needs
heads
will o
thou
An
grow
give,
have
King
man
Army
gain
then
our
ter,
little
abul
God

the followers of the *publique* faith, nor in the professors of the *Catholique* faith, whereof men *maliciously* rejecting their godly Bishops, *rebellionly* fighting against their *lawfull* King, and *mortally* wounding their owne soules, have made a *shipwracke*. But, If they called the Master of the house *Beelzebub*, if they said he was a *glutton* and a *drunkard*, what wonder if they say these things of us? and if Christ the King of Kings was *crucified betwixt two Theeves*, what marvell if this *servant* of Christ, our King, be thus pressed, opposed, and abused betwixt two *rebellious* factions? and when we see our Saviour and our King thus handled, it is *lesse* strange to finde the Bishops and the Priests *persecuted* and crucified betwixt two *hereticall* and *tyrannicall* parties. Well: *Jerusalem, Jerusalem, that killest the Prophets and stonest them that are sent unto thee*, take heed lest the King of peace shall say unto thee, *Verily, thou shalt see me no more, till thou sayest, Blessed is he that commeth in the name of the Lord*.

9. When they were growne thus impudent, from bad to worse, both over shoes and over bootes; then disobedience must needs follow; and therefore now putting on their *brazen* foreheads, they tell *Moses* plainly, *We will not come to thee; we will doe nothing that thou willest, but will crosse thee in all that thou intendest: this is our most peremptory resolution*. 9. Disobedience.

And so we see, that *Nemo repente fit pessimus*, but the wicked grow worse and worse: first you must *lend*, then you must *give*, if not, we will *take*; or if you deny your goods, we will have your *bodies*: so at first, *whatsoever* we doe, it is for the King; and, because this is so *palpable* a mockery, that as every man knoweth, they that fight against the Earle of *Essex* and his Army, doe warre against the *Parliament*; so they that fight against the *Kings* Army, do as certainly warre against the *King*; then we grow so *impudent*, as to *justifie* any rebellion against our King; as in *England*, *Goodwin*, and that seditious *Pamphleter*, in opening the glorious name of the Lord of Host, doe but a little lesse: for which application of Gods glorious name, and abusing the holy Scriptures, to such *abominable* transgression of Gods holy Precepts, to instigate the *subjects* to warre against their

their *Soveraigne*, and to involve a *whole* Kingdome into a *detestable* distraction: I doe much admire that they are not apprehended, and transferred to the *Kings Bench Barre*, to be there arraigned, and condemned to be punished according to their deserts.

10. Rebellion.
See the place.
Joshua 1. 16,
17, 18.

10. When these *Rebels* had proceeded *thus* farre, then contrary to the *loyall* obedience which they owed unto their Prince, and which the people *promise* unto *Joshua*: They ascended to the *height* of odious *rebellion*, which may not unfitly be called

Monstrum, horrendum, informe, ingens, cui lumen ademptum, and is (as *Thucydides* saith) all kinde of evill; *Et qui facit, peccatum non facit, sed ipse totus est peccatum*: and therefore *Samuel* saith, that *Rebellion* is as the sinne of *Witchcraft*, when men doe confederate to give their soules unto the Devill; for now these *Rebels* are ready to take armes against *Moses*, and they had reduced all civill order to confused *paritie*, deposed and destroyed their *Governours*, if the Governour of all the world, by whom Kings doe reigne, and who hath *promised* to defend them, had not prevented the same from Heaven.

The reason of
their rebellion.

And the *reason* why they did all this, and proceeded thus far against *Moses* and *Aaron*, is intimated in the words of my Text, *Emulati sunt*, because they would *emulate* or *imitate* *Moses*, that is, to play the *Moses*, or play the *Kings*, and play the part of the *chiefe* Priest themselves; for this is certaine, that none will *envy*, murmur at, slander, and disobey his *King* so farre, as to make an *open* rebellion against him, but they that in *some* sort would rule and be *Kings* themselves; especially when they shall seeke so farre to *debilitate* their Prince, as that hee shall be no wayes able to make resistance; for they thinke, if *Treason* prosper, 'tis no *Treason*; what's the reason? if it prosper, who dares call it *Treason*? and none would disobey their Bishops or chiefe Priests, but they that would, and cannot be Bishops themselves; because *pride* and *ambition* are the two sides of that bellows, which blowes up disobedience and rebellion.

But they that are ill *servants* will prove worse *masters*; they that will not learne how to *obey*, can never tell how to *rule*; and if *Moses* were, as these *Rebels* suggested, a *Tyrant*; yet the
Philosopher

Philoso
they v
us, tha
treason
The
studied
govern
so they
to secu
simplic
leave t
mercies
peace

Shew
he
pl

4. V
house
obedie
dome
our ca
lion,
Schoo
very
felfe
come
nor
castle
scien
will

Philosopher tells us, we had better endure *one* Tyrant, then, as they were, 250 Tyrants. And the Homilie of the Church tells us, that contrary to their hopes, God never suffers the greatest *treasons* or *rebellion* for any long time to prosper.

Therefore, when under *loyall* pretences we see nothing but *studied* mischiefes, and most *crafty* endeavours to *innovate* our government, or to *imbroyle* the Kingdome in a *civill* war, that so they may fish in a *troubled* water; let us never be so *stupid* as to secure them in these actions, to produce our *discredit* for our simplicity, and *destruction* for our disloyalty; but rather let us *leave* them as Delinquents, to the *justice* of our Lawes, and the *mercie* of the King; and this will be the *readiest* way to effect peace and happinesse to our Nation.

CHAP. XII.

Sheweth where the Rebels doe hatch their Rebellion: The heavy and just deserved punishments of Rebels: The application and conclusion of the whole.

4. **W**E are to consider, *Ubi fecerunt*, where they did all this; *in castris, non in templis*; that is, in their *owne* houses, not in the house of God: for in Gods *house* we teach *obedience* to our Kings, and beate downe *rebellion* in every Kingdome; this is the Doctrine of the Church. But in our *houses*, in our *cabins* and *corners*, in private *conventicles*, they teach *rebellion*, which is the Doctrine of those Schooles. And these Schooles are called *Castra*, Tents, or Castles; because indeed every mans *house* is his *castle*, or his *fort*, where he thinkes himselfe *sure* enough; so did those rebels, and they would not come *out* of them: neither *Moses* the King could *compell* them; nor *Aaron* the Priest could *perswade* them to come out of their *castles*, and forsake their *strong* holds, which their *guilty* consciences would not permit them to doe: and so all *other* rebels will never be perswaded to forsake their places of *strength*,
4. Part. Where they did all this.
Our houses are our castles.
untill

*Basilus de Spi-
ritu Sancto, c.
ult.*

untill God pulleth them, as hee did these *Rebels*, out of their *holes*: for were it not for these *Castra*, the Cities and Castles that they possesse, they could not so (like subtle *Foxes*) runne out and in, to *nullifie* the property, and to *captivate* the liberty of the Kings faithfull subjects, as they doe; for, though they doe all this under those faire pretences, for the defence of the true *religion*, the maintenance of our *liberties*, and the property of our *estates*: yet for our *religion*, it is now amongst us as it was in the dayes of S. *Basil*, Θεολόγος δὲ πᾶς, every one is a Divine; and then πᾶν ὄμιον πατέρων κακίνετε, &c. all the bounds of our fore-fathers are transgressed, the foundation of *doctrine* and fortification of *discipline* is rooted up; and the *innovators* which never had any other *imposition* of hands, but what they laid upon themselves, have matter enough to set forward their *sedition*; and for the other *pretences*, I dare proclaime it to all the world, that mine owne *experience* beleeveth the *liberty* of the subjects, and the *property* of our goods, and the true *Protestant* Religion could not possibly be more abused, then it hath beene by them that came in the *name*, and for the *service* of the Parliament: and therefore I would to God, that all the *oppressions*, *injustice*, and *imprisonments*, that have beene made since the *beginning* of this Parliament, were *collected* and recorded in a booke of remembrance, that all the *world* might see and read the *justice* and equity of our Parliament, and the *iniquity*, *oppression*, and rapine of them, that to enrich themselves, deprive us of our *estates* and *liberties*, and that under the Parliaments name; for I heare, that as many have beene *impoverished*, so many both of the Lords and Commons in this Kingdome of *Ireland*; that, before the conjunction of these *malevolent* martiall Planets, were very low at an *ebbe*, and their names very deepe in many *Citizens* books, have now wiped off all *scores*, paid all their *debts*, and *clad* themselves in *Silkes* and *Scarlet*, but with the *extorted* moneyes, and the *plundered* goods of the *loyall* subjects: I hope it is not so in *England*.

How the Parli-
ment Rebells
haue enriched
themselves in
Ireland.

Platina's story
of the *Guelphs*
and *Gibelines*.

Yet, as *Platina* tells us, that, when the *Guelphes* and the *Gibelines*, in the Citie of *Papia*, were at *civill* discòrd; and the *Gibelines* promised to one *Facinus Caius* all the goods of the *Guelphes*,

Guelphes
and af
goods
brake
that th
and so
see the
the wi
and P
canno
estates
nota c
But
commo
lower
I an
sters a
the in
these
the c
least
Prince
passib
of pe
this p
can
nesse
wha
dear
much
2.
little
A
to w
desp
blee
wer

Guelphes, if he assisted them to get the *victory*, which he did; and after hee had *subdued* the *Guelphes*, he seized upon the goods of both; and when the *Gibilines* complained that hee brake his *Covenant*, to pillage their goods, *Caius* answered, that themselves were *Gibilines*, but their goods were *Guelphs*, and so belonged unto him: So both in *England* and *Ireland*, I see the *Parliament Forces* and the *Rebels*, (I hope contrary to the *will* of the *Parliament*) make little difference betwixt *Papist* and *Protestant*, the well-affected and disaffected; for they cannot judge of their *affections*, but they can discern their *estates*, and that is the thing which they thirst after; *Hand ignota cano*.

But you will say, these are miseries *unavoidable*, accidents *common* to all warre, when *neither* side can excuse *all* their followers.

I answer, *Woe* be to them therefore that were the *first* suggesters and *procurers* of this warre; and *curst* be they that are still the *incendiaries*, and blow the coales, for the *continuance* of these miserable distractions. I am sure his Majestie was neither the *cause*, nor doth he desire the *prolonging* thereof for the least moment; but as his *royall* father was a most *peaceable* Prince, so hath he shewed himselfe in all his life, to follow him *passibus aequis*, and to be a *Prince of peace*: though, as the *God of peace* is likewise a man of warre, and the *Lord of Hosts*; so this *peaceable Prince*, when his *patience* is too much provoked, can (as you see) change his *pen* for a *sword*, and turne the *mildnesse* of a Lambe into the *stoutnesse* of a Lyon; and you know what *Solomon* saith, that *The wrath of a King is the messenger of death*, especially when he is so *justly* moved to wrath. And so much for the *particulars* of this Text.

2. Having *fully* seene the *uglinesse* of this sinne, you may a little view the *greatnesse* of the punishment: for,

Although I must confesse, we should be *slow to anger*, slow to wrath, yet when the *Magistrate* is disobeyed, the *Minister* despised, and *God* himselfe disclaimed, it makes our hearts to *bleed*, and our spirits *angry* within us: yea, though the King were as *gentle* and as meeke as *Moses*, the *meekest* man on earth;

2. The punishment of these rebels.

Tirinus in h.
psal.

and the Bishops as *holy* as *Aaron, the Saint of the Lord*; yet such *disobedience* and *rebellion* would anger Saints; for so *Tirinus* saith, *Irritaverunt, they angered Moses in their Tents, and Aaron the Saint of the Lord*: Nay more then this, they angered God himselfe, so farre that *fire was kindled in his wrath, and it burned to the bottome of hell*. And as these rebels were *Lords and Levites, Clergie and Laity*, so God did proportion their punishments according to their sinnes: for the *Levites*, that were to kindle *fire* upon Gods Altar, and should have beene more heavenly, and those 250 men which usurped the Office of the Priests; He sent *fire from heaven* to devour them: and the *Nobility* that were *Lay Lords*, the Prophet tels you, *the earth opened and swallowed up Dathan, and covered the Congregation of of Abiram*. A most fearfull example of a just judgement; for to have seene them dead upon the earth, as the *Egyptians* upon the shore, had beene very lamentable; but to see the earth opening, and the graves devouring them quick, was most lamentable, and so strange that we never read of such revenge taken of *Israel*; never any better deserved: and which is more, S: *Basil* saith, *quod descenderunt in infernum damnatorum*: they fell into the very pit of the damned; which dolefull judgement, though they well deserved it, yet I will leave that undetermined,

Basilus hom. 9.

And if these rebels, proceeding not so farre, whatsoever they intended, as to offer *violence*, and to make an open warre against *Moses*, were so heavily plagued for the Embrio of their rebellion, what tongue shall be able to expresse the detestation of that sinne, and the deserts of those rebels, that by their *subtilty* and *cruelty* would bring a greater persecution upon the Church, then any that we read since the time of Christ, and by a desperate disobedience to a most Gracious King, would utterly overthrow a most flourishing State? a rebellion and persecution, the one against the King: the other against the Church, that in all respects can scarce be paralleled from the beginning of the world to this very day.

And therefore except they do speedily repent with that measure of repentance, as shall be in some sort proportionable to the measure of their transgression, I feare God in justice will deale with

with the
of the
or mai
did wi
sense
their
God o
structi
and re
cifull u

Now
I will
good:
by our
give u
have a
mus ha
which
himag
again
to pra
that h
ment
either
of pe
him
have
answ
him
know
my e
Mo
6. or
& gr
Engl
tical

with them as he did with the *Jewes*, deliver *them* into the hand ^{2. Chron. 36.} of their Enemies, *that will have no compassion upon young man, 17. or maiden, old man, or him that stoopeth for age;* or rather, as hee did with *Pharaoh* King of *Egypt*, deliver them up to a *reprobate* sence and *harden* their hearts, that they cannot repent, but in their *folly* and obstinacie still to fight against *Heaven*, untill the God of heaven shall overthrow them with a most *fearfull* destruction; the which I pray God, they may foresee in time, and repent, that they may *prevent* it, that God may be *still* mercifull unto us, as he useth to be to *those that love his Name*.

And so much for the words of this Text.

Now to *Apply* all in brieft: if God shall say to any Nation, The application *I will send them a King in my wrath, and give them Lawes not of all.* good: let them take heed they say not, we will take him away by our strength: for we have read, that hee hath *authority* to give us a King in his *displeasure*: but you shal never read, that we have *authority* to disobey him at our *pleasure*, and to say, *Nolumus hunc regnare super nos*: or, if any do, let them know, that he which *set* him up, and *settled* him over them, is able to *protect* him against them; & they that *struggle* against him, do but strive against *God*: and therefore they have no better remedie, then to *pray* to God, which hath the *hearts* of all Kings in his hand, that hee would, as the *Psalmist* saith, *Give the King his judgments, and his righteousness unto the Kings Son*, that he would either *guide* his heart to right, and *direct* his feete to the way of peace: or as he hath sent him in his *fury*, so hee would take him away in his *mercy*. But for our *selves* of these Ilands we have a King, and I speak it here in the *sight* of God, and as I shall answer for what I say at the dreadfull *judgement*, not to *flatter* him that heares mee not, but to *informe* those of you that know him not so well as I, that had the happinesse to live with my ever honoured Lord, the Noble Earle of *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*, 16. or 17. yeares in the Kings house, and of them 6. or 7. yeares in the Kings service. Hee is a most *just, pious, & gracious* King; & I beleieve, the best Protestant King that ever England or Ireland saw, neither *Popishly* affected, nor *Scismatically* led to disaffect, but most constantly resolved to be a true
De-

Defender of that *true Protestant Faith*, which is established by Law in the Church of *England*, and he is such a King; of so *unblameable* life, so *spotlesse* in all his actions, so *clement*, and so mecke towards *all men*, and so *mercifull* towards his very *enemies*, that the mouth of *Envie* cannot truly taxe him, nor *malice* it selfe disprove him in any thing. Yet wee know that as *Moses* the meekest among men, and *David* the best of Kings, were sore afflicted, slandered, and persecuted, not a little, by many of their owne obliged subjects; yea, and the best Kings have had the greatest troubles; so this *good King* hath had for his tryall a great part of the like usage. I know not by whom, neither do I intend here to accuse others, but to instruct you, and by what I shewed out of this text to teach you *above all*, to take heed of *disobedience* and Rebellion towards your King: and to let you understand that what *priviledges* in the *New Test.* are acknowledged to be due to *Heathen Princes*, and what *prerogatives* the spirit of God hath in the *Old Testament*, warranted unto the Jewish Kings, and what the universall Law of *Nature*, hath established upon all the *supreme Governours*, do all of them appertaine by *unquestionable* right unto his most sacred Majesty; and yet His Majesty out of His *incomparable* goodnesse insisteth not to challenge *all* these, but vouchsafeth to accept of *those* rights and prerogatives, which are undoubtedly afforded him by the Lawes of His own Lands: and these come farre short, scarce the moiety of the other; because we know, if our Historians have not deceived mee, how many of them were obtained, by little better then by force and violence, compelling Kings to consent unto them; whereas Lawes should be of a freer nature.

And therefore of all the Nations round about us, besides that God hath intrusted Him with us all, wee have *most* reason to entrust him, and to give credit unto His Majesties *many* protestations (too high to be *forgotten* by him, or *misdoubted* by us) for His resolution, to maintaine the Liberty of his Subjects, the *just Priviledges of Parliaments*, and the *true established Religion* in the Kingdome of *England*: and likewise to rule over us according to our *Lawes*, in this Realme of *Ireland*. And
we

we have *least* reason to *rebell* and take armes against him ; and therefore let us not be perswaded by *any meanes* by any man to doe it, because God will *preserve* his annointed , and will, as you see, *plague* the Rebels ; but let us *pray* for our King , and *praise* God night and day, that he which might have given us a *bramble*, not onely to *teare* our flesh, but also to set us all on fire, hath given us such a *Cedar*, such a *gracious* and a *pious* King; and if either *forreigne* foes, or *domestique* Rebels, doe presse him so, that he hath *need* of us, let us adde our *helpe* , and hazard our *lives* to defend and protect him that protecteth us ; and suffereth *all* for the protection of Gods service, as it was *establiished* in the *purest* time of Reformation, and for the preservation of our *Lames* from any *corrupt* interpretation, or *arbitrary* invasion upon them, by those *factious* men, that under *faire*, yet *false* pretences , have, with *wondrous* subtilty, and with most subtle hypocrisie, seduced so many *simple* men, to partake with them not onely to *overthrow* the *true* Religion, to *imbase* the Church of Christ, that *hitherto* hath continued glorious in this Nation , and by *trampling* the most learned under feet, to reduce *Popery* into this Kingdome, and to bring in *Atheisme* or *Barbarisme* into our Pulpits, when they make their *Coach-men* and *Trades-men*, like *feroboams* Priests, the basest of the people, to become their *trencher* Chaplaines, and the *teachers* of those poore *sheep*, for whom the Son of God hath shed his *pretious* bloud, but also to *change* the well-setled government , and to *subvert* the whole fabricke of this *famous* Common-wealth, either by their *tyranny*, or bringing all into an *Anarchie* ; for if we have *any* regard of any of these things , either *true* Religion, or *ancient* Government ; a *gracious* King, and a *learned* Clergy ; a *glorious* Church, and a *flourishing* Kingdome ; we ought not to *spare* our goods, or be *niggards* in our contributions to helpe his Majesty : yea, as *Debora* saith, *To helpe the Lord against the mighty*. Or, if we be *cold* and carelesse herein. *penurious* and tenacious of our *worldly* pelfe, preferring our *gold* before our *God* ; or fearing *gracelesse* Rebels more then we love our *gracious* King, It may fall out, as Saint *Augustine* saith, *Quod non capit Christus rapit fiscus* ; or as it did with the *Carthaginians* , who because

they would not assist *Hanniball* with some reasonable proportion of their estates, they lost all unto the *Romans*, and with the *Constantinopolitans*, that for denying a little to *Paleologus*, lost all unto the *Turkes*; so we may be *robbed* and pillaged of *all*, because we would not parte with *some*; and I had rather the *King* should have *all* I have, then that the *Rebels* should have any part thereof. Therefore I hope I shall perswade all *good men to honour God with their riches*, and to assist His Majesty to the *uttermost* of their powers, even to the hazard, and to the losse both of *liberty* and *life*. And doing *this*, our God which is the *King of Kings*, will *blesse* us, and defend us from *all* evill, and make us *Kings and Priests* to live with him for ever and ever, through *Jesus Christ* our Lord: To whom with the Father and the Holy Spirit, be all praise and glory, and dominion, from henceforth for evermore.

Amen. Amen.

{ *Hester 4.16. If I perish I perish. Yet,*
Esdra 4.41. The truth is great, and will prevaike. }
Jehovæ Liberatori.

FINIS.



O Eternall and Almighty God, thou Lord of Hosts, that givest victory unto Kings, and deliverest David thy Servant from the perill of the sword, save and defend our King from all dangers, strengthen him that he may vanquish and overcome all his enemies; and be with us O Lord that are thy faithfull servants, and for thy sake his Loyall Subjects, to preserve us from the gathering together of the froward, and from the insurrection of the wicked doers, (that are confederate against thee, and against thine Anointed) for Iesus Christ his sake, in whom we have ever trusted, through whom we shall never be confounded, and to whom be glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen.

